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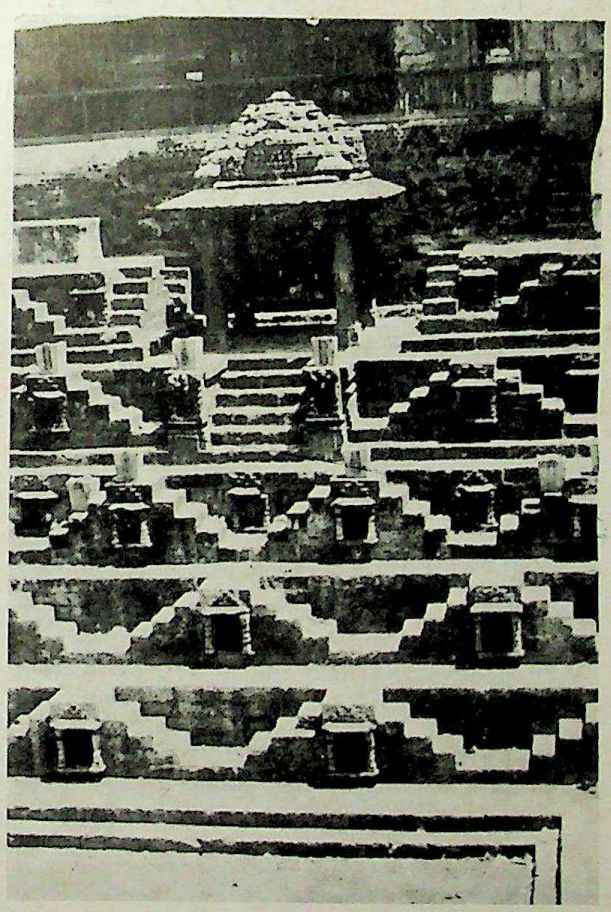

Plate : 5 The famous kuṇḍavāva in the centre & old Kapadvanj which has been constructed with laterite blocks

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EVIDENCE FOR DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT IN THE EASTER ISLAND AND MOHENJO DARO INSCRIPTIONS

By
BENON ZB. SZATEK*

The aim of this article is to display some facts proving a Dravidian origin of the Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro Inscriptions.

Some General Data on the Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island Scripts —

The civilisation of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa flourished in the period of 3000-1500 B.C. in the Indus Valley. This urban civilisation produced one of the earliest writing systems. At present we know about 3000 objects covered with proto-Indian inscriptions (seals, pottery, amulets). As a rule-the inscriptions are very short. The longest known inscription (the "amulet of destiny") consists of 26 signs [1, 2]. No bilingual inscription is known to us.

The Easter Island writing system [3, 4, 5] is said to have appeared in this island of South Pacific with the first king Hotu Matua about 5th-8th century A.D. (67 sacred tablets inscribed with "rongo-rongo" signs). The knowledge of this script disappeared during the 17th-19th centuries. Many inscriptions were destroyed by Christian missionaries—sothat at present we know only about 20 inscribed wooden tablets, 1 stick and 4 pectorals with signs. Also the shoulders

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of gigantic statues are inscribed with these enigmatic signs. The longest inscription (called Stick of Santiago) consists of about 2000 signs. There are no bilingual inscriptions.

Evidence for Tamil (= Dravidian) Language of Easter Island Inscriptions—

Some Easter Island inscriptions contain analogic texts (for instance : tablets Keiti and Small of Vienna; Small of Santiago and the London Tablet; tablets Big of Santiago, Big of Leningrad, Small of Leningrad and partially Tahua—an example is given in Fig. 1). The fact of textual analogies allows to find evidence for the language and kind of script of the analysed inscriptions. The analysis of analogic texts reveals, that in several cases the sign of BIRD in one parallel text is replaced by a sign somehow connected with DEATH (for example : Bird With Broken Neck, Headless Man—see Fig. 2). Also a group of signs on the sculpture of BIRD MAN in the American Museum of Natural History in New York, confirms this connection (Fig. 3). These graphical facts point at the Tamil language—for it is employing a homonym WII meaning both BIRD and DEATH. It is possible to produce more facts supporting this statement. For instance the analysis of parallel texts of : Big of Leningrad, Big of Santiago and Small of Leningrad (Fig. 4) reveals that in the language of the Easter Island inscriptions STAR and FISH are homonymic. Such a homonym exists in the Tamil language-MIIN means both STAR and FISH.

These and many other facts show that the language of the Easter Island inscriptions is Tamil. The texts contain many rebus-like forms (this points at the acrophonic principle in the script)—no doubt introduced by some later Tamil copyists.

Evidence for Kinship of the Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro scripts—

Is it possible to support the above statement with similarity of scripts of Easter Island and India ? Yes, it is possible. My analysis reveals that the Easter Island inscriptions have numerous analogies in the inscriptions of the Proto-Indian civilisation of Mohenjo Daro :

1. Analogy of simple signs (Fig. 5),
2. Analogy of groups of signs (Fig. 6). The analogy of sign-groups means among others analogy of the " mirror-like groups of signs " (Fig. 7).

The very frequent Easter Island sign of BIRD + MAN can be followed back to the Mohenjo Daro and Harappan civilisation (Fig. 8). These facts prove a very close relationship of the Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro scripts.

Hence it is justified to extend the fact, that the Easter Island inscriptions are written by means of Tamil, i.e. Dravidian, language and script back to the script of Mohenjo Daro. The above facts reveal that the language and script of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa are Dravidian.

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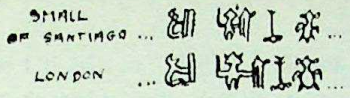

Fig. 1.

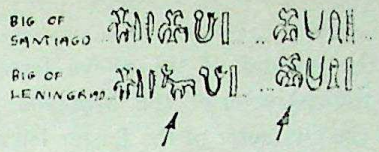

Fig. 2.

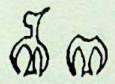

Fig. 3

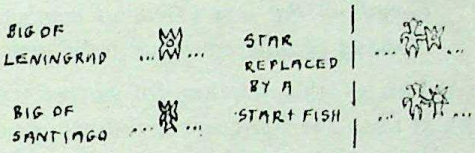

Fig. 4

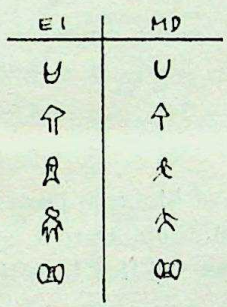

Fig. 5.

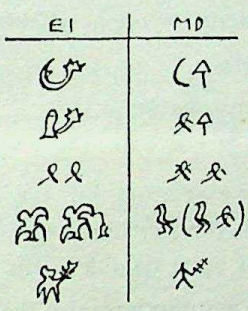

Fig. 6.

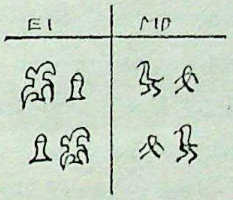

Fig. 7

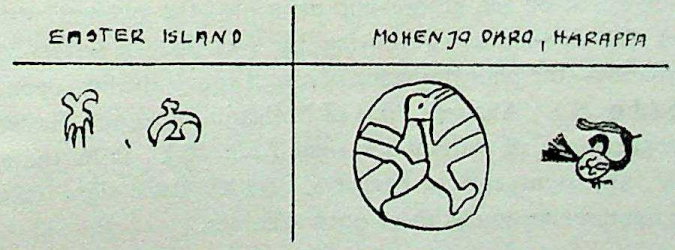

Fig. 8.

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Evidence for the Character of the Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island Writing Systems—

On the ground of the above facts it is justified to assume that if I will determine the character of the Mohenjo Daro script—I will determine at the same time the character of the Easter Island script.

As I have demonstrated in my book [6] on decipherment of ancient inscriptions—the analysed script may be determined if compared with other scripts by means of the following relation, basing on the same length (number of signs- for instance 241, 350, 400 etc.) of texts :

$$\frac{\textit{Length of the text (General number of signs)}}{\text{Number of different signs in the text}}$$

The values of this relation for various types of script are as follows (the basic length of texts 241 signs, in the following calculations, originates from my previous work on the inscription of the Phaistos Disc [6]) :

Chinese : hieroglyphs	241 / 112 = 2.15
Japanese : hieroglyphs and signs for open syllables	241 / 62 = 3.88
Tamil : signs for open syllables	241 / 51 = 4.78
Phaistos Disc : signs for open syllables	241 / 45 = 5.35
Polish : alphabet	241 / 23 = 10.47

The value of the above relation for the script of Mohenjo Daro equals 241/43 = 5.6 and reveals that the Dravidian script of Mohenjo Daro is syllabic (signs with phonetic values of open syllables—for instance : WII, KU, MII etc.).

According to the above assumptions also the script of Easter Island consists of signs for open syllables.

As it has been demonstrated before, the scripts of Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro are based on the acrophonic principle—the phonetic value of a sign depends on the sign-name. Following the fact that the scripts consist of signs for open syllables—the phonetic value of a sign equals the first open syllable of the sign-name (Fig. 9). Analogic texts of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island reveal a very frequent use of variants of signs (Fig. 10). Both these scripts consist of simple basic signs and of ligatures. As the basic signs mean open syllables—so the ligatures mean chains of open syllables.

The number of basic signs doesn't exceed some tens. Ligatures, although employed already in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions-become extremely frequent in the period of Easter Island. The number of Easter Island ligatures can be counted in thosands. The analogic texts of Easter Island reveal the way the ligatures were constructed (Fig. 11). The above mentioned features (variants of signs, rebus-like notation, acrophonic principle, ligatures) enabled the ancient

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SIGN	SIGN-NAME	PHONETIC VALUE
	MARAM (tree)	MA
	WĪ (bird, death)	WĪ
	PĒNAN (moon)	PĒ
	MĪN (fish, star)	MĪ

Fig. 9.

EASTER ISLAND

MOHENJO DARO

Fig. 10.

TAHUA ... ...

... ...

ARUKU KURENGA ... ...

... ...

BIG OF LENINGRAD ... ...

BIG OF SANTIAGO ... ...

Fig. 11.

MD		EI	MD		EI	MD		EI	MD		EI
	WĀ→WA			KU			MŌ→MU			SĀ	
	WĪ			KO→KA			NU			SE	
	WU			MA			PĀ			TA→TĀ	
	YA			MĀ			PI→PĒ			TI	
	YĀ			MĪ			SA			TŌ→TU	
										TĒ	

Fig. 12.

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Dravidian scribes to write one and the same expression in more than one way (Fig. 11).

Results of Decipherment and Interpretation of the Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro Inscriptions—

The procedure of decipherment and interpretation has been presented in my earlier papers [1 – 6]. A part of comparative syllabary [4, 5] of Easter Island and Mohenjo Daro writing systems is given in Fig. 12. This comparative syllabary shows some of the evolutionary changes in both scripts during the period of about 3000 B.C.-1680 A.D. In many cases the signs and their phonetic values stayed almost unchanged (signs for MII, TI, YA, WU). In some cases slightly changed the phonetic value. Some graphic forms of signs changed in a considerable way. However, it must be stressed that the sign-names stayed during this period of about 4500 years almost unchanged. The sign-names were used as a base for creation of graphic variants of signs (Fig. 13). Apart from simple, basic signs both scripts admitted the possibility to use various ligatures. The Mohenjo Daro ligatures are rather simple and consist of whole basic signs situated in a special way (Fig. 14). Much more complicated are the ligatures of Easter Island (Fig. 15)—for they used to be constructed not only by means of whole signs, but also by means of various elements of basic signs—so that one and the same expression could be written in more than one way (Fig. 16). Examples of deciphered and interpreted inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Island are given respectively in Fig. 17 and 18.

The Proto-Indian (Mohenjo Daro) inscriptions contain for the most part Dravidian religious texts (short invocations) connected, among others, with a God characterised by such attributes as : *liṅgam*, number 3, fire (TI-YII-LI), bull, bird and death (WII), navel (TU-PI-LI).

Not few of the objects covered with inscriptions were meant as amulets (KA-protection). One of the most interesting is the "amulet of destiny" covered with 26 signs [1].

The Easter Island religious inscriptions are *mantras*, written in Tamil language, and are connected with a golden, pure God called WII (Bird and Death), Big Son (MAKAA MAKAA = makaa makan) and TI (Fire).

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SIGN-NAME	MOHENJO DARO	EASTER ISLAND
MĪN – FISH \ STAR		
MARAM – TREE		
WĪ – BIRD \ DEATH		

Fig. 13.

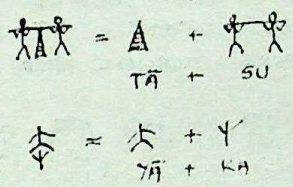

Fig. 14.

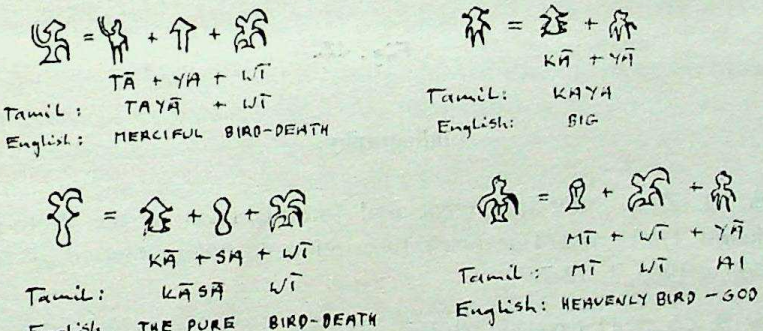

Fig. 15.

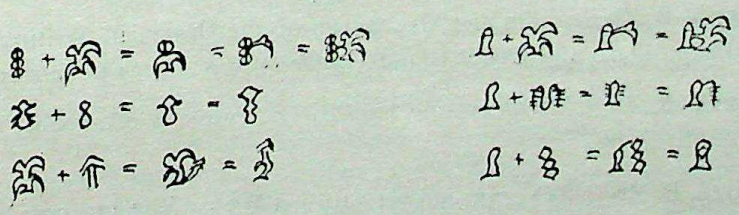

Fig. 16.

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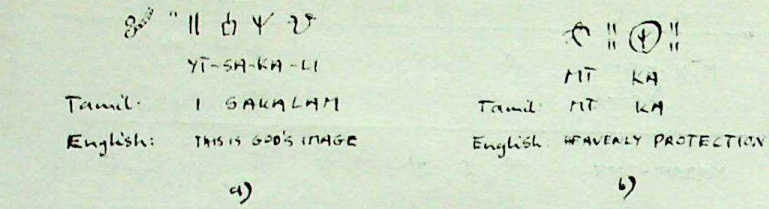

Fig. 17.

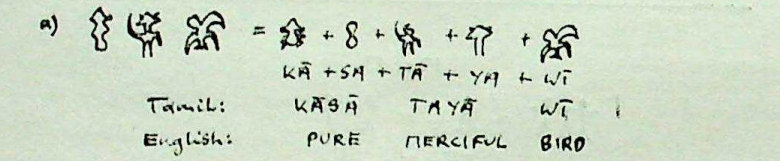

Fig. 18.

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CHĀNDOGYABRĀHMAṆA 1.2.13—SOME PROBLEMS

By
KAMALPRIYA BISWAS*

Since its first publication (1872 A.D.)[1] the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* or *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* has been considered as a problem text. Unlike other Brāhmaṇas which deal with the Śrauta sacrifice, this Brāhmaṇa concerns Gṛhya ceremonies only. Again, the book compiles only the verses, while other Brāhmaṇas give mainly the rules stating or only indicating the employed verses. For this reason, the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* is different from other Brāhmaṇas to some extent. Naturally, there may be questions about the antiquity and authenticity of this book. Scholars have noted this problem but it has not been possible to come to any satisfactory decision.[2] The present paper will take up two difficult verb-forms of the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* and examine if these can be helpful in understanding the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa*'s general character. The two forms are *yoṣṭhāḥ* and *yoṣāḥ*. They appear in the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* 1.2.13—

सखा सप्तपदी भव सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मा योष्ठाः ॥

In this paper, first we shall discuss about the variants of this verse and the interpretations of the commentators, then we shall try to justify whether the word *yoṣṭhāḥ* and *yoṣāḥ* may be possible from the verb *yu*, and if they throw light on the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa*'s antiquity and authenticity.

Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol 38, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1988 issue, pp. 209-215.

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1 *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* edited by Satyabrata Sāmaśramī, published in *Pratnakamranandinī*, Vol. V, Serampore, Śakābda 1794 (A.D. 1872).

Besides this—(a) *Das Mantrabrāhmaṇa*—Edited by Heinrich Stönner, Halle 1901. (Only first *Prapāṭhaka*) with extracts from commentaries (b) *Das Mantrabrāhmaṇa*—Edited by Hans Jörgensen, Darmstadt 1911. (Only second *Prapāṭhaka*) with Sāyaṇa's commentary. (c) *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇam* - Edited by Durgāmohan Bhattacharyya, Calcutta—1958 with the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa. For other important editions see-*Chāndogyabrāhmaṇam* by Durgāmohan Bhattacharyya (Calcutta-1958); page xix.

2 Noted scholar Oldenberg thinks that the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* and *Gobhila Gṛhya-ūtra* are composed simultaneously in accordance with a common scheme. See-*Gṛhyasūtras* Pt. II (SBE XXX), pp. 4-8. This implies that our Brāhmaṇa is spurious.

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Besides the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* the full verse with the word *yoṣṭhāḥ* also occurs in the *Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha* (1.3.14) and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (3.7.12) of the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*. We find some variants in the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*:—

सखायः सप्तपदा अभूम सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ॥

and in the *Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha*—

सखा सप्तपदा भव सखायौ सप्तपदा बभूव ।
सख्यं ते गमेयं सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ॥

The last portion of this verse in the *Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha*

(सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः)

is the same as in the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*.

Stönner[3] preserved the readings, but translated सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मा योष्ठाः following the reading of the *Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha*. The translation is '.... nicht will ich von deiner Freundschaft trennen, nicht sollst du dich von meiner Freundschaft trennen'; that is—'I do not like to be separated from your friendship, you also should not be separated from my friendship'.[4]

The *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* itself has two different readings of this verse. According to the older commentator Guṇaviṣṇu the second half of the verse is—

सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मायोष्ठ्याः

and according to Sāyaṇācārya it is—

सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मा योष्ठाः

Thus three readings of the last half of this verse are found.[5]

We may note that Guṇaviṣṇu took the reading as *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* that is not as a form of unaugmented aorist like *mā yoṣṭhāḥ*. So the verse presents a different meaning. According to him *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* is a compound word qualifying women. He explained the word *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* as—

मायः सुखं तस्योत्थानं मायोष्ठं तत्र भवा मायोष्ठ्याः सुखकारिण्यः स्त्रियो याः

---

3 *Op. cit.*

4 See Stönner's remarks on p. XXIX (Fünftes Kapitel) of his edition. His translation comes to agree with Sāyaṇa's explanation.

5 The verse occurs in various places of the Vedic literature from the Brāhmaṇa literature onward as may be gathered from the following reference chart :

(a) i. सखा सप्तपदी भव सख्यं ते गमेयम्,
सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मायोष्ठ्याः ॥ (छा. ब्रा. १.२.१३.)
—according to Guṇaviṣṇu.

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māyaḥ means happiness or pleasure and *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* indicates सुखकारिण्यः स्त्रियो या :, that is delightful or pleasant women. The word has the verb *ud-sthā* in its formation, according to this explanation. So, according to Guṇaviṣṇu this part of the verse—

सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मायोष्ठाः

means—' Let no women (break) your friendship (with me). (Let) pleasant (women) (make your friendship (with me). '[6]

We may mark that Guṇaviṣṇu took both *yoṣāḥ* and *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* as two *subanta* forms, and we may also note that no other old commentator (Sāyaṇa etc.) except Guṇaviṣṇu accepted *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* as the correct reading in any version and also that they all regarded *māyoṣṭhāḥ* as two words. It seems that Guṇaviṣṇu made a major mistake in accepting the reading *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* and that is why his explanation totally differs from Sāyaṇa and other commentators.

By all probabilities *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* is an example of aorist prohibitive. As Hoffmann puts it the injunctive including prohibitive is identical in form with an unaugmented past tense.[7] Three types of injunctives (including prohibitive with *mā*) have been recognised—present injunctive, perfect injunctive and aorist injunctive. Morphologically, they are just the preterite forms—present imperfect,

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(a) ii सखा सप्तपदी भव सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मा योष्ठाः ।। (छा. ब्रा. १.२.१३)
—according to Sāyaṇa.

(b) सखायः सप्तपदा अभूम । सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यात्ते मा योषम् । सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ।। (तै. ब्रा. ३.७.७.११-१२)

(c) सखा सप्तपदा भव सखायौ सप्तपदावभूव (or सप्तपदा बभूव) ।
सख्यं ते गमेयं सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ।। (आप. म. १.३.१४)

(d) सखायौ सप्तपदावभूव सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ।। (हि. गृ. १.२१.२.)

(e) सखायः सप्तपदा अभूम सख्यं ते गमेयम् ।
सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः ।। (आप. श्रौ. १०.२३.१.)

We may note that there is also a different verse which begins with सखा सप्तपदी भव.

6 We do not get this verse directly in the *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra* or Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa's commentary. But explaining the *Sūtra* ' मा संख्येन दक्षिणमतिक्रामेति ब्रूयात् ' (2.2.12), Chintāmaṇi Bhattacharyya (editor, *Gobhila-Gṛhysūtra*) referred to the verse *sakhā saptapadī*, etc. It appears that he followed Guṇaviṣṇu completely in his reading and explanation.—See ' *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* ' by Chintāmaṇi Bhattacharyya (Calcutta—1936), p. 304

We do not know which manuscript C. Bhattacharyya had consulted.

7 Hoffmann, K. *Der Injunktiv im Veda*, Heidelberg 1967, p. 30.

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aorist indicative and plu-perfect without the initial augment *a*. So *yoṣṭhāḥ* is an unaugmented aorist form in injunctive mood. With *mā* it gets the prohibitive sense.

Actually *yoṣṭhāḥ* must be derived from the verb *yu* aorist 2/1. As it is in the injunctive mood, naturally the initial augment is dropped. The verb in it is *ātmanepadin*, so the final vowel has the change of *guṇa* (not *vṛddhi*, which is possible in *parasmaipadin* verb).[8] We note a similar case in the Vedic form *astoṣṭhāḥ* (from √*stu*). Here the initial augment indicates that it is not in injunctive mood. Another example is *cyoṣṭhāḥ* from √*cyu*. In discussing below the derivation of *yoṣṭhāḥ* we shall first see the position from the point of view of our traditional grammar. Later, the matter will be judged from the historical point of view.

According to Pāṇini the form *yoṣṭhāḥ* can be possible in such a grammatical way—

(√यु + लुङ्)

यु + थास्
यु + स + थास् — च्लेः सिच् Pā. 3. 1 44.
यो + स + थास् — सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः Pā. 7. 3. 84.
यो + ष् + थास् — आदेशप्रत्यययोः Pā. 8 3. 59.
यो + ष् + ठाः — ससजुषो रुः Pā. 8. 2 66.,
खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः Pā. 8. 3. 15.
ष्टुना ष्टुः Pā. 8. 4. 41.
माङि लुङ् Pā. 3. 3. 175 ; न माङ्योगे Pā 6. 4. 74.

Sāyaṇācārya took the reading *mā yoṣṭhāḥ* in this verse and claimed both the clusters *mā yoṣāḥ* and *mā yoṣṭhāḥ* as unaugmented aorist forms of √*yu* which means mixing (*miśraṇa*) and unmixing (*amiśraṇa*) too.* According to him *yoṣṭhāḥ*, is the second person singular number *ātmanepada* form of √*yu*.

Our position is largely supported by *Sāyaṇācārya* up to this for *yoṣṭhāḥ*. However, in the commentary on the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa*, Sāyaṇācārya adds and changes some words of the second half of the verse towards facilitating his interpretation as indicated below : (*ahaṃ*) *te sakhyaṃ* (→ *sakhyāt*) *mā yoṣāḥ* (→ *mā yoṣam*), *te* (= *tvaṃ*) (*mama*) *sakhyaṃ* (→ *sakhyāt*) *mā yoṣṭhāḥ*. He adds the agent *aham* in the third *pāda* and changes *sakhyāt* for *sakhyam* and *yoṣam* for *yoṣāḥ* for better explanation. The notional addition and alteration make the verb identical with the remaining versions so far as its sense is concerned. According to this सख्यं ते मा योषाः सख्यं ते मा योष्ठाः may mean—' May I not be separated from your friendship. May you not be separated from my friendship '.

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8 Cf. ' उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि ' Pā. 7.3.89
Sanskrit Grammar by William Dwight Whitney, London 1931, p. 314.
* *yu miśraṇe amiśraṇe ca D.P. 1033.* Cl. 2.

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Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra, another commentator of the *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* speaks just as Sāyaṇa does. In this matter he also takes the verb *yu* as meaning separating. *Yoṣṭhāḥ* according to him, has the form of aorist, second person singular number. So he say—यौतेर्लुङि सिचि वृद्ध्यभावः छान्दसः आत्मनेपदञ्च, that is—the word *yoṣṭhāḥ* is derived from the verb *yauti*. Evidently, he means that it is an example of unaugmented s-aorist, and though the verb is *parasmaipadin* according to the *Dhātupāṭha*, yet here it has *ātmanepada* ending as a Vedic feature.

One may question if the form *yoṣṭhāḥ* is possible from the verb *yauti*. We find three different verbs in the *Dhātupāṭha* having the root *yu*. They are—*yu miśraṇe amiśraṇe ca*, 'yu means mixing and unmixing' (1033, Cl. 2); *yuñ bandhane*, '*yuñ* means binding/fastenning' (1479, Cl. 9); *yu jugupsāyām*, '*yu* means dislike or abhorrence' (1711, Cl. 10). They have been included in the class of *adādi parasmaipadin*, *kryādi* both *ātmanepadin* and *parasmaipadin*, and *curādi ātmanepadin* respectively. Examples are—

(1) *yauti*, *ayāvīt* (*adādi*)
(2) *yunāti*, *yunīte* (*kryādi*),
(3) *yāvayate*, *ayīyavat* (*curādi*).

There is another root *yu* (*yuvati*, *yuvate* etc.) in the Veda, which we do not get in the *Dhātupāṭha*. We find from these examples that though the verb *yu* (Cl 2) indicates 'separating', yet it is not possible to get *ātmanepada* form from this verb.

The verb *yu* from *curādi* class presents us *ātmanepada* form, but as this verb is found in the causative form there must be reduplication in the aorist form.

The third verb *yu* belongs to the *kryādi* class (9) which we may use both in *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* conjugation. The word *yoṣṭhāḥ* is possible from this verb. Though it means to bind or unite, yet we can find that *ātmanepada* form is available from this verb. So while in the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* the verb means to separate, we find from this discussion that the unaugmented aorist form *yoṣṭhāḥ* may be possible from the middle verb *yu* of *kryādi* class which means to bind.

The editor of the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* Prof. Durgāmohana Bhattacharyya also thinks that *yoṣṭhāḥ* is derived from the *ātmanepada* verb *yuñ* in *kryādi* class which means to bind or unite.[9] Thus the word *yoṣṭhāḥ* is analysed and explained according to the Eastern system.

On this point Western scholars have some different ideas. According to them we get an additional verb *yu* such as—*yuyoti*. This verb can be used in *ātmanepada* group, and it has been included in the *juhotyādi* class (Cl. 3) by Western scholars. The *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, and Macdonell, Whitney etc. all

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9 Op.cit., p. 30, fn. 6.

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recognise this verb which means to separate.[10] The form of this verb is identified by reduplication. These forms are available in many parts of the Vedic literature, for example *yuyotu* (RV. 5.50.3; T.S. 1.7.13.5), *yuyota* (RV. 8.71.8), etc. So according to Macdonell *yoṣṭhāḥ* is an *ātmanepada* form of the verb *yuyoti* which means to separate.[11] But there is no reference to this verb in the *Dhātupāṭha*.

We may say that the form *yoṣṭhāḥ* is possible from the verb *yu* of *kryādi* class according to Indian scholars, but European scholars suggest the derivation of the form from the verb *yu* (*yuyoti/yuyote*) of the *juhotyādi* class.

But we should note also here the position of our traditional grammar regarding this √*yu* of Cl. 3. Sāyaṇa derives *yuyodhi* (RV. 9.104.6) which actually is from √*yu* Cl. 3, either from the verb *yudh* (to fight, Cl. 4) or from √*yu* (Cl. 2). He thinks here the *vikaraṇa* in both the verbs is irregularly *ślu* by बहुलं छन्दसि (Pā. 2.4.76.). *Ślu* indicates reduplication. It is clear that the form *yuyodhi* cannot be possible from the verb *yudh* in any way, but in the other derivation from √*yu*, Sāyaṇa has indirectly recognised that the form *yuyodhi* can be possible from the √*yu* of the *juhotyādi* class.

'*yoṣāḥ*' is another problematic word in this verse. We note *mā yoṣam* instead of *mā yoṣāḥ* in the older Vedic text *Taittirīya brāhmaṇa* (T. Br. सख्यात्ते मा योषं सख्यान्मे मा योष्ठाः). The reading of the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* seems to be correct and more appropriate from the point of syntax and meaning.

The word *yoṣāḥ* is taken by Guṇaviṣṇu as a *subanta* (declensional) form and by Sāyaṇa as a *tiṅanta* (verbal) form. But we cannot get any *tiṅanta* form *yoṣāḥ* from the verb *yu*. According to Sāyaṇa *yoṣāḥ* is an irregular form of *yoṣṭhāḥ* which is derived from the verb *yu* in the second person singular number which again appears in the place of the first person singular number as a Vedic exception. So ultimately *yoṣāḥ* involves two irregularities—that is : *yoṣaṃ* → *yoṣṭhāḥ*, *yoṣṭhāḥ* → *yoṣāḥ*. It is very difficult to justify the word *yoṣāḥ* in the subjunctive mood of the present system. The modal suffix 's' is never possible in the present system.[12] It is the sign of the aorist system. Again if we assume the form *yoṣāḥ* in the aorist—subjunctive mood, it is difficult to explain '*ā*' which is not possible in the aorist system.[13]

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10 See, (a) *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, p. 141, (b) *Vedic Grammar for Students* by Macdonell, p. 409-410.

11 See, *Vedic Grammar* by Macdonell, p. 118, and 410.

12 See, *Vedic Grammar for Students* by Macdonell, p. 118.

13 See, *Vedic Grammar by Macdonell*, Strassburg, 1910, p. 315, para-414.

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It cannot be derived from √*yūṣ* in the sense of injuring (Dh. P. 1. 680 *yūṣa hiṃsāyām*) because of the long penultimate vowel whose guṇation is disallowed.[14]

In the *Vedic Variants* both *mā yoṣāḥ* and *mā yoṣṭhāḥ* have been translated as—' Don't withhold thy friendship. '[15] Hence it seems that Bloomfield and other Western scholars think that *yoṣāḥ* is an example of Vedic irregularity. In fact, it is not possible to defend the verbal form *yoṣāḥ* grammatically. That is why it seems to be a wrong conjugation.

There may be a question whether this irregular form is handed down from an early age or it is Guṇaviṣṇu's own mistake. And certainly Guṇaviṣṇu is recognised as the earliest commentator of the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa*.

We noted before that Guṇaviṣṇu had taken a wrong reading *māyoṣṭhyāḥ* for *mā yoṣṭhāḥ* which is not accepted by Sāyaṇa and other commentators of this verse. But *yoṣāḥ* is not taken by Guṇaviṣṇu only, even Sāyaṇa has accepted this reading. Geographically Sāyaṇa and Guṇaviṣṇu lived very far from each other. In this case as both commentators accepted this ungrammatical word, we may say that though the word *yoṣāḥ* is an irregular and ungrammatical *t ñanta* form, yet it has been in use from an early age, at least from quite long before Guṇaviṣṇu who wrote before 1200 A.D.

Now what does all our discussion indicate ? It indicates that all the corruptions in the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* do not bear regional stamp and hence linguistic tests do not make the *Chāndogyabrāhmaṇa* as young as some scholars would take it to be. Further study of obsolete and obsolescent words in this Brāhmaṇa may sustain our view.

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14 Cf. पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च (पाणिनि. ७.३.८६.)
Vedic Grammar for Students, Macdonell, p. 120.

15 See, p. 249, *The Vedic Variants*, Vol. III, Ed. M. Bloomfield, F. Edgerton and M. B. Eneneau, 1934.

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REFLECTIONS ON DATING "VĀLMĪKI"

By
GREGORY D. ALLES*

I

In an article published about thirty years ago, the well-known *Rāmāyaṇa* scholar, Camille Bulcke, wrote the following : "Valmiki lived in the kingdom of Kosala, somewhere at the turn of the fourth century B.C. It is the kingdom of Kosala that Valmiki describes in terms that can only have been inspired by patriotism".[1]

In one sense there is nothing remarkable in Bulcke's statement. The turn of the fourth century is well within the chronological span during which reputable scholars of Bulcke's time—and our own—place "Vālmīki". In another sense, however, Bulcke's statement is surprising. The last time we find reference to an independent Kosala is the early 5th century BCE, when it was humiliated by Ajātaśatru of Magadha. By the 4th century Kosala appears to have been for some time securely absorbed into the growing Magadhan empire.[2] It is difficult, then, to imagine a "kingdom of Kosala" in which a poet might have lived at the turn of the 4th century BCE And it is just as difficult to imagine the circumstances under which a monumental poem incorporating Kosalan patriotism could have flourished then or been allowed to disseminate.

There can be no question of faulting Bulcke. His impressive and creditable scholarly achievements deserve our recognition, admiration, and—if possible—our emulation. Why, then, would he make this statement ? In general, Bulcke identified genetic stages in the development of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or in this case of the Vālmīki legend, and postulated periods of one or several centuries between

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1 Bulcke Camille, "About Valmiki", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda Vol. 8, 1958-1959, pp. 121-131.

2 Pathak Visuddhanand, *History of Kosala up to the Rise of the Mauryas*, Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1963,

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each stage to allow for the supposed changes. Counting back from a more or less arbitrarily fixed point, he arrived at a 4th century Vālmīki.

As historical procedure, this method is only slightly better than throwing darts while blindfolded. Both the developmental sequence and the time allotted to it are subject to very little control. But Bulcke's method *was* better than throwing darts, and that may have been the only alternative at the time. Subsequent scholars have also employed at least two other strategies : first, the dubious procedure of arguing from silence (for example, from the altogether proper observation that except in one passage, athetized in the critical edition, Vālmīki makes no reference to the Buddha or Buddhism); second, the attempt to identify the period of < the events of > the poem by locating the material culture which the poem portrays.

II

To start my own reflections, I want to outline what I see as the general principles that must govern any scholarly search for the date of " Vālmīki ".

(1) The question of " Vālmīki "'s date is separate from, and logically prior to, the question of the date and historicity of the events portrayed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

This principle is just historical common sense. Before one can consider the historical reliability of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s narrative, one must first establish the kind of poem that it is : the circumstances under which it was composed, the role of the poem in its original environment, and the kinds of material the poet is likely to have used. In other words, one must assess one's sources, for scholarly history is different from story-telling.

To some this point may seem obvious, but I feel compelled to make it. Historians have reconstructed " the epic period " and " the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* " as if the contents of the poem self-evidently reflected a distinct, early period of Indian history. Colleagues in philological studies have often responded to my queries about the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by telling me when they thought Rāma's exile occurred. Some archaeologists have been searching for artefacts to corroborate the events of the poem without asking how that material might have been available to the poem's author. As a result, they cannot formulate sufficiently nuanced accounts of the important data they have uncovered.[3]

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3 A few scholars I have talked to seem to look upon it as their right to ignore this distinction and assume both the historicity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the veracity of its account of Vālmīki. After all, they ask, how could the belief of so many millions of people be wrong ? Implicitly, and often explicitly, these scholars transform scholarly issues into issues of " us " versus " them ", of India versus the West. This transformation is inappropriate. Jews and Christians,

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(2) It is essential to distinguish the poem's (implied) narrator from its actual author.

Every narrative is told from a particular perspective that implies a narrator, even if that narrator is not identified. This (implied) narrator is not identical with the narrative's author. A modern *rākṣasa*-story illustrates this point nicely. R. K. Narayan's *Man-Eater of Malgudi* is narrated by a printer who unexpectedly rents the upper room of his print shop to an overbearing taxidermist. We may suspect that autobiographical detail informed Narayan's portrait of this printer, but we cannot be sure unless we have information about Narayan from external sources. In any case, we would never be justified in simply identifying the narrator of the tale with the author, Narayan himself.

This distinction between narrator and author does not pertain only to certain sophisticated modern novels. It holds good for all narratives. Strictly speaking, Vālmīki is the name of the narrator who identifies himself at the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But since we have no other name for the *Rāmāyaṇa's* author, it is customary to call that person (or those persons) "Vālmīki," too. Until now, I have enclosed the name "Vālmīki" in quotes whenever I have wanted to refer to the author, rather than to the narrator, of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and it is "Vālmīki" the author, not Vālmīki the narrator, in whom I am interested here. For the sake of English style, but at the risk of misunderstanding, I shall henceforth dispense with the quotes. But whenever I refer to Vālmīki without qualification, I am referring to the author, *not* the narrator, of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(3) In seeking to locate the author, rather than the narrator, indirect, as it were accidental, information is more valuable and more reliable than direct information.

Let me give an example. In the *Iliad* Homer describes the Achaians as flocking to battle like "the multitudinous nations of birds . . . in the Asian meadow beside the Kaystrian waters" (Il. 2.459-461). This is indirect rather than direct information about the author, for it identifies a specific location in a simile that says nothing about the narrative or the narrator. Homer clearly expected his

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and Europeans and Americans schooled in Greek and Roman antiquity, have reacted and continue to react in just the same way and with the very same arguments when they are told on scholarly grounds that it is impossible for Moses to have written the first five books of the Bible or that, Schliemann's discoveries notwithstanding, the events of the Homeric poems are poetic fantasy. I can sympathize with these scholar's feelings, for I, too, have experienced the discomfort that comes from a critical, scholarly examination of sacred books with which I was reared. Nevertheless, I must still maintain that unquestioning and uncritical belief has no place in the realm of serious historical scholarship.

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audience to be familiar with this spot, which lies near the Asia Minor coast. Combining this instance with many others, scholars have concluded that Homer is actually singing in Ionia, although the tale he sings tells of events set farther north in the Troad and his perspective favors the mainland Greeks from across the sea. If such information is available for the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is much more important than what the poem actually says about Vālmīki the narrator.

(4) Arguments from substance must take precedence over arguments from silence.

Some scholars argue for an early Vālmīki because the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not mention Buddhism. Others argue for a late Vālmīki because Pāṇini shows no specific knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, unlike the *Mahābhārata*. These arguments make interesting observations, but they are inconclusive with regard to the date of the poem. In the face of substantive arguments, they do not provide disconfirmation so much as interesting facts that require explanation.

(5) Because the *Rāmāyaṇa* presents itself as a complex poem potentially fashioned by many hands, it is necessary to specify very cleary which aspect of the poem one is trying to date, what Vālmīki, if you will, one is searching for.

This principle holds good even if we should decide that the poem as we now have it was composed in its entirety by a single author. The only exception would be if one were prepared to demonstrate initially that, appearances notwithstanding, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is in fact the product of a single author. In this paper, I am interested only in dating one significant aspect of the *Rāmāyaṇa*: the central, unified narrative, from the *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* to the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*, of Rāma's exile from Ayodhyā, his journey south to the wilds, the abduction of Sītā, the alliance with the *vānaras*, and the defeat of Rāvaṇa and the *rākṣasas*. I call this narrative the "defining narrative" because without it, we may have a story about Rāma and Sītā, but we do not have a *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(6) Any date we propose must make historical sense; that is, it must make sense in terms of what we know from *all* external evidence about the period to which our date refers.

This is a principle that many Sanskritists have consistently ignored. As a result they have constructed relative chronologies, to which they have assigned numbers that are the same kind of numbers that historians use (10th cen. BCE, 6th cent. BCE), but which reveal nothing substantive about the circumstances under which various authors worked. The procedure is, to a large extent responsible for the haze that still obscures the early (and at times the later) history of Indian literature.[4]

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4 One unfortunate result of this procedure has been to allow some scholars to inflate the dates they assign to various Sanskrit texts beyond all reasonable

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The goal of dating a literary work must not be simply to place it on a numerical spectrum relative to other works of its kind but to locate it in its appropriate geographical, temporal, and socio-cultural contexts so that we may begin to speak about it historically with some degree of sophistication. In dealing with ancient works—and modern works, too – this procedure involves, in part, identifying a specific and historically meaningful period to which the work belongs. There are problems with assigning works of art to periods defined in political terms, but given the current state of literary and cultural history in India, periods defined by successive political regimes are significantly more specific and informative than such vague designations as "the sūtra period", which identifies no historical context at all.

III

To these six principles I now add some rather more specific observations.

From statistical analyses of Vālmīki's language and parallels in other Sanskrit and Pali works, it is clear that Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* shares with many other poems the use of formulaic phrases, scenes, and themes that some scholars have associated with oral composition.[5] There is much room for caution here. Frankly, I am one of many who find the general claims advanced on behalf of "oral-formulaic composition" dubious and in some cases preposterous. For

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bounds, a tendency that seems to be growing unchecked in some places. Thus, to get the early date they like for the *Mahābhārata*, many blissfully assert that Megasthenes's Sandrokottos was not Candragupta Maurya but the Gupta king Candra Gupta. For some reason, they are able to ignore the obvious absurdity of this assertion. Coins from the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius have been found in good number in India buried below Gupta levels by about four centuries. If Candra Gupta dates to the fourth century BCE, then Jesus (Christ), born during the reign of Augustus, must date to the 8th century "Before Christ", and Megasthenes himself to the 12th century.

5 Sen Nabaneeta, "Comparative Studies in Oral Epic Poetry and the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*: A Report on the Bālakāṇḍa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 86, 1966, pp. 397-409. and "The *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Raghuvaṁśam*: Stylistic Structure of Oral Poetry as Contrasted to Classical Poetry, "*Jadavpur Journal of Comparative Literature* Vol. 8, 1968, pp. 85-95; and in great detail, Jong J.W. de, "Recent Russian Publications on the Indian Epic," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. 39, 1975, pp. 1-42. On formulaic poetry in general, see Lord Albert B., *The Singer of Tales*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1960 for needed words of caution, Finnegan, Ruth, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977.

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example, it would not be convincing to argue from these traits that Vālmīki composed his poem orally, without the benefit of writing, and even more, that in order to have done so he must have been illiterate (as some have argued for Homer). It would also be erroneous to assert that these forms imply a particular manner of thinking or a particular form of social organization, and it would be insidious to insist that because the *Rāmāyaṇa* exhibits formulaic traits critics may make certain poetical observations but not others. For dating the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, the poem's formulaic character does have important ramifications : it forces us to distinguish between the formulaic medium and the constituted poem.

(a) Previous scholars have debated the chronological priority of various works, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, on the basis of verbal echoes and thematic parallels.[6] But the identification of these echoes and parallels can really provide no conclusive evidence for relative chronology. These traits are simply the traits one would expect to find in the works of authors drawing upon a common formulaic medium, regardless of who came first.

(b) In a formulaic medium, it is the latest features of the language, not the earliest, that are important for dating. This is the case because the verbal medium conservatively preserves archaic vocabulary, morphological variants, and grammatical constructions long after they have passed out of current use. Thus, to argue that the *Rāmāyaṇa* must be an early poem because it displays certain pre-Paninian forms actually attacks the question from the wrong end. The same principle applies to cultural forms. Most formulaic poems present a cultural mishmash that contains features and structures from many different periods, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is no exception to the rule.[7]

(c) In a formulaic medium poetic composition involves the creative manipulation of the traditional store of phrases, scenes, and themes. In the past scholars have postulated periods of centuries that were needed for the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to grow from the tiniest seedling to monumental proportions, but from a formulaic viewpoint, these years of growth are unnecessary. What Vālmīki required was not so much a well-defined model—a mini-*Rāmāyaṇa*—as

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6 E.g., Hopkins E. Washburn, *The Great Epic of India*, 1901; reprint ed., Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 58-84, Sukthankar, V. S., " Epic Studies VIII. The Rama Episode (*Rāmopākhyāna*) and the *Rāmāyaṇa*," in *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. Kane on his 61st Birthday*, ed. Katre S. M. and Gode P. K., Oriental Book House, Poona, 1941, pp. 472-487; and Raghavan V., *The Greater Ramayana*, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1973.

7 This is perhaps the appropriate general conclusion of H. D. Sankalia's *The Ramayana in Historical Perspective*, Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi, 1982.

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a well-developed medium That medium may have included characters named Rāma and Sītā, for example, and a few typical events associated with them, such as exile. In fact, given the existence of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, it is likely that Vālmīki's medium included just such characters and events. But the medium need not have associated many of the events that Vālmīki chose to weave into his narrative with these particular characters Indeed, unlike the case with the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, I find it difficult to imagine any version of Vālmīki's defining narrative, recited in full narration rather than summary form, that would not assume monumental proportions. The narrative is too unified and complex, and in this regard the *Rāmāyaṇa* (except for the *Bāla* and *Uttara-kāṇḍas*) differs sharply from the *Mahābhārata*, which is overburdened with episodic material.[8]

(d) For most purposes, then, it will be preferable to talk about the formulaic material available to Vālmīki and the formulaic tradition rather than an earlier version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Postulating a prior genetic stage is justifiable only if there is a significant degree of compelling evidence that cannot be accounted for on formulaic or other plausible grounds.[9] To appeal to a prior version of the poem simply to avoid evidence for a date later than the date we think Vālmīki ought to have is arbitrary and inadmissible.

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8 Even a poem a fourth of the size of our *Rāmāyaṇa* (about 6,000 *ślokas*) would still be equivalent in size to the *Odyssey*, a monumental poem by anyone's standards. The difference between a summary account and a full narrative can be seen quite well by contrasting Hanuman's summary in *Ram.* 5 58 (SR) with Vālmīki's account of the same events. With its lack of detail, description and imagery, Hanuman's summary could never stand as an isolated poem. There have, of course, been shorter works that deal with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but like the *Rāmopākhyāna* and Kālidasa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, they do so in a quite different style and to a large extent presuppose familiarity with the fuller story. To my mind, the period of prolonged genesis is a 19th century European bias against the intellectual capabilities of an ancient poet, and one that we can dispense with. Cp Nanavati Rajendra, *Secondary Tales in the Great Epics* L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1982, pp. 5-6.

9 Philologists have tried to distinguish genetic layers in the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it is clear they do not yet have any appropriate instrument to do so. Using one method, J. L. Brockington has identified two different stages in the development of the *śloka* verses of the critical edition, *kāṇḍas* 2-6. Using a different method, M. Yardi has identified totally different and irreconcilable stages for the same material. Compare the appendix of Brockington's *Righteous Rama: The Evolution of an Epic*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, with Yardi's "A Statistical Study of the *Ramayana Sundarakanda*, *Yuddhakanda*, and *Uttarakanda*," *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 70, 1989,

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IV

What are the geographical and temporal parameters within which we must look for Vālmīki ?

Indirect evidence for Vālmīki's location does not get us very far, but it does locate the poet in the Northeast. For example, when Lakṣmaṇa is in the south, he still describes the winter as associated with cold temperatures and snow (3.15). Some similes refer to oceanic phenomena of a sort a Northeasterner might happen to know, such as tides (2.16, 7d *et passim*), but they refer more frequently and more specifically to the regions of the Ganga valley and the Himalayas (e.g., 6, 19.2c, 29d). Even more pointed is a kind of weapon Vālmīki puts in the hands of the *vānara* warriors besieging Laṅkā : Sāla trees (e.g., 6.33.31, 63.19, 85.12). These trees are specific to eastern India between the Himalayan foothills on the one end and southern Bihar and eastern Madhya Pradesh on the other.[10] Some have used the distribution of these trees to argue that Laṅkā was originally located in central India, but the more important point, it seems to me, is that Vālmīki describes botanical phenomena from a Northeastern perspective, even when he seems to be describing areas where these phenomena do not actually occur.

The subject matter of the poem would tend to place Vālmīki in the Northeast, too, for he sings of the Sūryavaṁśa rather than the Candravaṁśa, and his poem has many thematic and occasional verbal parallels with the Jātakas. In fact, the tales of the Sūryavaṁśa really focus on two areas, Kosala and Videha, and since an independent Videha disappears from history rather early, we must reckon seriously with the possibility that Vālmīki is writing in Kosala. His careful attention to Kosalan geography—Avodhyā, Nandigrāma, Śṛṅgaverapura, the rivers from the Sarayū to the Gaṅgā, and the highway connecting Ayodhyā with Śṛṅgaverapura—contrasts sharply with the scanty attention he gives to other areas.[11] Vālmīki mentions the Vatsas, for example, and he must have known their

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pp. 17-32. S. P. Gupta has pointed out that there is no need to postulate genetic stages for which we have no evidence in the case of Mauryan monumental art (*Roots of An ient Art*, B. R. Publishing, Delhi, 1980). The same holds good for a monumental epic like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

10 Sankalia, p. 33.

11 Not to mention the total unconcern for Kosalan geography that the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* displays. Hans Bakker has argued that the Kosalan city on the banks of the Sarayū was known as Sāketa until Gupta times, and that the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Ayodhyā is a fictional city not originally located anywhere. As evidence, he contrasts the specific location of Ayodhya in the *Bāla* and *Uttara-kāṇḍas* with vague allusions to the Sarayu river in the rest of the poem (e.g.

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capital city, Kausambi, perhaps the oldest city in the region, with massive walls, not far, and south, from Śṛṅgaverapura on the banks of the Yamunā. But he diligently avoids mentioning Kausambi or any other major political power in the region. If we must play the odds, Bulcke's supposition that Vālmīki was a Kosalan poet seems to be a reasonable bet.

The *terminus post quem* is established by archaeology, first of all by the results of B. B. Lal's excavations at Ayodhyā, Nandigrāma, Śṛṅgaverapura, and the alleged site of Bharadvāja's *āśrama* in Allahabad. Śṛṅgaverapura is an old site, but at the earliest levels habitation there is scattered and sporadic. Permanent habitation at Śṛṅgaverapura begins at the time when the remaining *Rāmāyaṇa* sites begin to be settled, the early Northern Black Polished Ware period, dated by radiocarbon and thermoluminescence techniques to around 700 BCE.[12] Lal's work has been criticized on at least two counts: (1) he dug only vertical trenches (although he did dig enough trenches in each locality to increase the odds of finding whatever important structures might lie below the surface); and (2) the names applied to the sites today may not have been attached to the same localities in antiquity. Nevertheless, given what we know of the development of civilization in the Ganges Valley, it is highly unlikely that any newly discovered deposits earlier than 700 BCE would be advanced enough to reflect the developed culture Vālmīki clearly envisions.[13] Holding on to this possibility is a little like waiting for archaeological evidence that would allow us to date William Shakespeare to the time of Antony and Cleopatra.

2.32 15, 18, 43.13, 70 19) (*Ayodhya*, Egbert Forsten, Groningen, 1986, pp. 4-12). Bakker may well be right in identifying "Ayodhyā" as a poetic rather than a historical name but it is clear that even in the heart of the poem Vālmīki has the site of Sāketa in mind. The road from Ayodhā to Śṛṅgaverapura was obviously a major highway in Vālmīki's time (cp. 2.74), and it bears all the marks of the major trade route from Sāketa to Kauśāmbi via Śṛṅgaverapura; the city is definitely located near the Sarayū river; and it is the residence of the ruler of Kosala. No other city has these characteristics.

12 Most recently, B. B. Lal, "Historicity of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana: What has Archaeology to Say in the Matter?", Paper presented at the International Seminar on "New Archaeology and India," Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, October 15-17, 1988.

13 We can construct for the region a complete, continuous series of periods stretching from early NBP ware back through Black-slipped ware (and the introduction of iron), Black-and-Red ware (Chalcolithic), and various lithic stages back to the earliest Paleolithic. See, for example, the report on "Explorations in Districts Allahabad, Banda, Mirzapur, and Varanasi," conducted by a team from the University of Allahabad, in *Indian Archaeology-1975-76*: 129

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The other end of the time spectrum, the *terminus ant quem*, is more difficult to establish, for enthusiasm has engendered many false claims. We read, for example, that panels at Bharhut and Sanchi depict the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, but this claim is based on preliminary identifications of the scenes that were later changed.[14] Two terracottas from Kausambi. 2d century BCE, now in the Allahabad Museum, have been alleged to portray events from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but the current director of the Musem, S. P. Gupta, is quite adamant that the allegation is incorrect.[15] Thus, from the terracottas and the Jātaka panels all we can conclude is that the types of themes found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* were current in the Śuṅga period. It is not until the much later Gupta period that we find a plastic representation clearly derived from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the poem dates from the mid-second century CE : inscriptions at Nasik and Junargarh in Western India, a long way from the place where we presume the poem was written.[16] Personally, I am willing to concede a date about 75 years earlier as the date by which we can be fairly certain the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s defining narrative had been composed : the reign of the well-known Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* mentions Rāma's departure from Ayodhyā several times in ways that follow Vālmīki's version of the story rather than, say, that of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*. Sanskrit scholars are also fond of counting the ways Aśvaghoṣa mimics Vālmīki. These features could, of course, simply derive from a shared tradition, but perhaps the direct references to Rāma's departure make imitation a more likely possibility. In any case, Aśvaghoṣa is commonly located at Kaniṣka's court and as a result the *Rāmāyaṇa* should date before this period, although not necessarily much before it if Chinese and Tibetan legends that Aśvaghoṣa came from Sāketa

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A Review, pp. 43-45. Before NBP ware, people in the region lived exclusively in huts of bamboo and reeds or, towards the very end, of daub and wattle, gathered in small assemblages—hardly the cities the *Rāmāyaṇa* presumes. See also Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Selectbook, New Delhi, 1983, for cultural strata in other parts of India.

14 For the claims : Sivaramamurti C., " The *Ramayana* in Indian Sculpture," *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*, ed. Raghavan V., Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 635-647. Benimadhab Barua's argument against the *Daśaratha Jātaka* at Bharhut is conclusive, unlike some of his other arguments; see his *Barhut*, 2 vols. (Calcutta : Indian Research Institute, 1934), vol. 2, pp 147-150.

15 Identification first made by Sengupta R., " Scenes of *Rāmāyaṇa* on Two Terracottas of pre-Christian Date, " *Journal of the Andhara Historical Society*, Vol. 32, 1971-72, pp. 127-132. Personal conversation with Gupta, April 22, 1989.

16 Sircar D. C., " Ramayana in Inscriptions, " in *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*, ed. Raghavan V., Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 325-326.

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(Ayodhyā) are correct. The *Mahāvibhāṣa*, a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyayana, also seems to date from Kaniṣka's reign, and it refers to a *Rāmāyaṇa* in 12,000 *ślokas*, not many fewer than the critical edition of Vālmīki minus the *Bāla* and *Uttara-kāṇḍas*.[17]

We arrive, then, at a time span from early NBP ware to the beginning of Kuṣāna sovereignty for Vālmīki's defining narrative. In this span, there are three distinct periods within which Vālmīki may have worked : (1) early independent Kosala, before the *mahājanapada* succumbed to Magadha in the late 5th century BCE; (2) Kosala under Magadhan supremacy, essentially the era of the Nandas and the Mauryas; and (3) Śuṅga Kosala, dated from the mid-second century BCE to at least the mid-first century BCE, more probably the mid-first century CE, when the kingdom once again enjoyed independence. Let us examine each of these periods in turn.

V

Many Sanskritists favor an early Vālmīki. I have frequently heard the figure "800 BC < E >, if not before." Some of the reasons that they give really only date the poem before 500 BCE. These reasons include : (1) the presence of un-Pāṇinian forms in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, allegedly an impossibility once Pāṇini composed his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (perhaps 5th century BCE); (2) the lack of any explicit reference to the Buddha or Buddhism; (3) Vālmīki's failure to mention Pāṭaliputra (founded about 500 BCE) when he describes Rama's visit to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Son; and (4) Vālmīki's apparent ignorance of geography much to the south of the Yamunā river. But other arguments do tend to push the date of Vālmīki much earlier. (5) In the late sixth century BCE the capital of Kosala was Śrāvasti. Ayodhyā must have been the capital only in earlier centuries. (6) By the sixth century BCE Videha was no longer an independent realm, as it certainly is in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. (7) By the time of Prasenajit of Kosala, Ajātaśatru of Magadha, and the Buddha, the common language of the Northeast was clearly not Sanskrit but a Prakrit. Yet unlike the more esoteric works of brahminical lore, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is addressed to a popular audience, and there is no good reason why a poet, even in the 6th century BCE, would address

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17 According to the editors, the critical edition, *Kandas* 2-6, contains 14, 134 *ślokas*. Aśvaghoṣa also mentions the name of an ancient *ādikavi*, Vālmīki, but the context does not explicitly connect the name with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Other evidence is either earlier but not sufficiently explicit (e.g., the grammarian Patanjali, who seems to know at least a little of the material that Vālmīki utilizes in composing his poem) or explicit but not sufficiently datable (e.g., the *Jayadissa-Jataka* < 513 > and the *Vessantara-Jataka* < 547 >, although certain details do not seem entirely consistent with the *Rāmāyaṇa* we know).

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a popular audience in Sanskrit rather than in Prakrit. Thus, the poem must derive from a very early period when Sanskrit was still the common medium of communication.[18]

The arguments I have numbered 2, 3, and 4 are arguments from silence. It may be possible—in fact, I will argue below that it is possible—to date the *Rāmāyaṇa* later than 500 BCE and still account for these features. Arguments 5 and 6 make another mistake : they assume that a poet cannot envision a situation which is no longer current, an assumption invalidated, among other examples, by the general consensus that Homer composed his poetry a good four centuries or so after the decline of the Mycenaean world.

The argument about Pāṇini (argument number 1) is very curious. Not only does it look to the wrong stratum of the linguistic medium, the oldest rather than the youngest; it also projects the universal authority of Pāṇini's *sūtras* that is current among professional Sanskritists today upon the entire Indian subcontinent immediately after the completion of Pāṇini's work. Such an anachronism is clearly wrong. Kātyāyana (" South, " 3rd century BCE) knows, as Pāṇini himself knows, that the Sanskrit of areas outside the Northwest does not comply with Pāṇini's rules, which Kātyāyana proceeds to modify. Patañjali (Pāṭaliputra, 2nd century BCE) often favors Pāṇini over Kātyāyana, as we would expect from a grammarian originally from the Northwest, but not always. He even portrays one amusing incident in which a charioteer argues with a grammarian about the derivation of the word " charioteer. " In such a climate we should hardly expect a poet, even a brahminical poet, to be much concerned that he is violating Pāṇini's rules.

To my mind, the reasons against dating Vālmīki to early independent Kosala are more compelling than the reasons for placing him there One of the reasons against such an early Vālmīki is in fact reason number 7 listed above, although it is far from the strongest. Given linguistic models of the spread of Indo-European languages and the development of Prakrits, I actually do not see why we should suppose that Sanskrit was ever the common language of the Northeast—as distinct from the specialized discourse of ritual specialists, both poetry and prose—before the development of Magadhi. But even if it was, it would have to date to a period much too early for Vālmīki, who can be no earlier than the 7th century BCE.[19]

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18 Most of these arguments were first advanced by Hermann Jacobi, *The Ramayana*, 1893; trans. Ghosal S. N., Eng. trans., Oriental Institute, Baroda : 1960, and most recently by Altekar G. S., *Studies on Valmiki's Ramayana*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1987.

19 Cp. Deshpande Madhav M., *Sociolinguistic Attitudes in India : An Historical Reconstruction*, Ann Arbor, Karoma Publications, Michigan; 1979,

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There are, however, better reasons than this one for assigning to Vālmīki a later date. If Vālmīki's language preserves early forms, it also preserves late forms, one of which relates to a specific period in Indian history. A standard feature of Vālmīki's depiction of the palace at Ayodhyā is the presence of bards and panegyrists, *sūtāḥ* and *māgadhāḥ* (e.g. 2.6.6., 32.11, 65.2, and 4.40.23). Now the noun *māgadhāḥ* is interesting. There is no possible verb root from which we could derive *māgadhaḥ* meaning "singer of praises". Thus, Monier-Williams must be correct when he derives the noun from Magadha, the name of the *mahājanapada* turned empire. But why would a poet earlier than the mid-5th century BCE call a panegyrist of the Kosalan king a *māgadhaḥ*? We must postulate a prolonged experience of Magadhan supremacy before a word meaning "Magadhan" could gain currency simply as referring to a person who praises any current king.

There is also the matter of Vālmīki's perspective. A highly developed urban civilization is not incidental but central to Vālmīki's conception of his narrative. In the Jātakas, for example, demons live a more or less solitary existence in the forest tracts. The same holds good for the demons of the *Brāhmaṇas*. But in a brilliant move, Vālmīki places a city in the middle of his wilds, Laṅkā, the capital of the lord of *rākṣasas*. This move allows Vālmīki to establish the crisp antitheses between Laṅkā and Ayodhyā, and Rāvaṇa and Rāma, upon which the effect of the narrative depends. An integral feature of these antitheses is the material and cultural contrast between Ayodhyā, a fairly ordinary city, and Laṅkā, a highly developed urban center overburdened with wealth

The *Rāmāyaṇa*'s images of Ayodhyā and Laṅkā are inconsistent with the level of material culture attained in Northeast India by the time of the demise of early independent Kosala. Vālmīki's cities have well-developed, multi-storied houses and other monumental structures (e.g., caityas and temples) that indicate an advanced stage of construction techniques. But in Kosala prior to 500 BCE, settlements are small and the most complex dwellings are mud and wattle huts. Construction with baked bricks is essential if any massive structure is to survive the monsoon in the area, but such construction does not begin until after 500, and it does not become common until Mauryan times.[20] In fact, Vālmīki's

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pp. 40 ff, and Romila Thapar, "Ideology and the Interpretation of Early Indian History," in *Society and Change : Essays in Honour of Sachin Chaudhuri*, ed. K. S. Krishnaswamy *et al.*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1977, pp. 1-19, esp. 8-10.

20 Lal, p. 34; Sankalia, pp. 52-53. Ten Issues of *Indian Archaeology—A Review* have been available to me (1972-1985, except 1978-79, 1979-80, and 1981-1982). Every report they contain from U.P. and Bihar corroborates this

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cities resemble nothing so much as Śuṅga representations of the *jātakas* and the life of the Buddha at Bharhut and Sañci.

The wealth attributed to Laṅkā also points to a period after 500 BCE. Vālmīki's Laṅkā has walls of gold and is encrusted with gems, pearls, beryls, coral, and crystal (cp. 5. 3, 6. 3). Presumably gold was always known, although unlike Harappan sites, early urban sites in the central Ganges reveal none of it (later sites do). Pearls, coral, and beryls, however, cannot be native to the region, and if Vālmīki knows them, we must presume they were imported, most likely from the far south. Such precious objects first appear in the archaeological record very tentatively in Mauryan times, a date thoroughly consistent with what we know of the development of trading centers in ancient India. Curiously, there are now extant from the Śuṅga period terracottas that, the excavators remarked, are extremely heavily ornamented.[21]

Finally, given what we know of formulaic traditions generally, early independent Kosala seems much too close to the beginning of settlement in the region to have developed a monumental epic about it. In other parts of the globe monumental poets look back upon the world they describe through a filter of several centuries. In the late 8th century BCE Homer sings about a Mycenaean world that had vanished by the mid-12th century. Poets in 19th century Yugoslavia described in glowing (but historically erroneous) terms events surrounding the fall of Constantinople (1453). Even a Vālmīki dated to the early 5th century BCE would still live only 200 years after the beginning of settlement in the area he describes, and just at the start of urbanization. The interval seems much too short to provide for the impetus to compose a monumental poem like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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view but one. The excavation at Batesvar, District Agra (1975-76, p. 42) lists a carbon-14 date for fully developed structures and mature NBP ware : 2520 ± 160 BP (570 BCE); but the same reports lists an incredibly preposterous date for PGW : 5130 ± 240 BP (3180 BCE) ; Many historians use the *Jatakas* to try to reconstruct the culture of the *mahajanapadas*, but this procedure is fraught with danger; in such popular tales, anachronisms abound.

21 Lad Gouri P., " Mahabharata : The Dynamics of Epic Evolution, " *Indica* 25, 1988, pp. 93-106, esp. pp. 96-98. Although technically about the Satavahanas, Himanshu Ray presents plenty of carefully sifted detail about earlier trade in her book *Monastery and Guild*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986. On heavily ornamented terracottas, see reports on excavations at Katragarh, District Muzaffarpur in *Indian Archaeology 1975-76 : A Review*, p. 8; ibid., 1976-77, pp. 12-13.

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VI

As we advance into the Magadhan era, the force of the arguments against an early Vālmīki diminishes. Later features of Vālmīki's language, such as the term *māgadhaḥ*, "panegyrist", become explicable. It seems plausible that, with exaggeration, Vālmīki could have modelled the luxurious decadence of Laṅkā on the cosmopolitan indulgence of the later (but not the earlier) Magadhan capital. And certainly by the middle of the Mauryan period a sizeable interval had elapsed after the beginning of general, full-fledged urbanization in the Northeast. On these grounds the Mauryan period might seem acceptable as a plausible date for Vālmīki.

In the past many scholars besides Bulcke dated Vālmīki to Magadhan times. They seem to have advanced only one reason for doing so: they assumed several centuries were needed for the *Rāmāyaṇa* to grow from a tiny seedling into a monumental tree. This assumption fails to distinguish between the development of the formulaic medium and the composition of the poem, and as a result it postulates a period of time that is not strictly necessary. We must avail ourselves of a different strategy to assess the plausibility of a Magadhan (or later) date for Vālmīki. In the absence of positive, concrete evidence, we must examine these periods to see when circumstances were more likely to have given rise to a popular, monumental poem in Sanskrit like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and when conditions prevailed that seem indirectly reflected in the narrative of the poem.

Since the contrast between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is a moral one, the concern for *dharma* stands at the centre of Vālmīki's narrative.[22] We know that the heterodox sects which received Mauryan support advocated various *dhammas*, that Aśoka disseminated an abstract, non-sectarian *dhamma* as the ideological base of his rule, and that brahmins as well as śramaṇas were active in the Mauryan period. Perhaps, then, Vālmīki composed a popular, monumental tale in Mauryan times to counter contemporary trends and to foster the cause of *dharma* conceived from a brahminical perspective. Brahmins would surely have resented Mauryan support for heterodox systems, and the portrayal of Rāvaṇa and Laṅkā would then stand as veiled critiques of Pāṭaliputra and its rulers.

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22 In her book *Exile and the Kingdom*, Romila Thapar sketches a scenario that would call this statement into question. According to her, and others too, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was originally sung by bards in the service of the kings, as a poem to legitimate their position; it was later taken over by brahmins, who gave it its dharmic cast. She may be right, although once we distinguish between medium and poem, it becomes just as probable that the poem was composed with a brahminical perspective from the beginning. I see no way to recover a "pre-brahminical" version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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From a distance, this scenario seems plausible enough, but the fit between it and circumstances during the Magadhan period is not tight. We are still left to wonder, for example, why anyone would compose a monumental, popular poem in Sanskrit when except for esoteric purposes everyone else was using the common language, including the purveyors of alternate *dhammas*.[23] But we must not weight this point too heavily. On the one hand, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is continuous in some respects with the kinds of popular Sanskrit tales that are introduced into the *Brāhmaṇas*, and its speeches simply allude to brahminical tales that it expects its audience to know. On the other, even if we date the *Rāmāyaṇa* after the Magadhan era, we must contemplate some story activity in Sanskrit during that era if Vālmīki's medium is to develop to the point where he can use it to compose a *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the real issue is not the existence of stories but the composition of a monumental poem, and I doubt that conditions in the Magadhan era were favorable to the composition of a monumental Sanskrit poem in the Northeast, especially a poem like the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

As Niharrajan Ray points out, monumentality makes its first appearance in the art of India with the Mauryas, although it may have had antecedents among the Nandas in materials, such as wood, that have since perished.[24] Mauryan artistic monumentality arose and flourished in direct service to the imperial regime, and it favored the peculiar Mauryan ideology : an elite, abstract symbolization that excluded popularistic, narrative representation. These traits hardly preclude other artistic activity, such as story-telling, on the popular level. But they do raise doubts about whether a period during which, under imperial patronage, the monumental imagination was heading in just the opposite direction would have given rise to the impulse to produce a monumental popular narrative. After all, another, possibly earlier example of monumentality in India also teaches us that in the early days the monumental imagination required official support : the elaborate *śrauta* sacrifices, which resemble Mauryan art in subordinating popular narrative to elite, abstract symbolization.

It is equally doubtful whether the Mauryan rulers could have allowed a monumental *Rāmāyaṇa* to flourish in direct competition with the official ideology. A series of monumental poetic recitations could hardly escape the notice of Mauryan officials, whose presence seems to have been universal and whose activity

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23 By this time there are hints that women of brahmin status could not understand Sanskrit, and that some brahmins were even using Prakrit in performing their sacrifices. Cf. Deshpande, pp 8-9.

24 Ray Niharrajan, *Maurya and Post-Maurya Art : A Study in Social and Formal Contrasts*, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 1975. Against wooden antecedents, see Gupta (n. 9 above).

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was at times considered oppressive. Especially under Aśoka, who appointed ministers of *dhamma* to propagate, and enforce the observance of, his *dhamma* it is difficult to see how a monumental representation of a competing *dharma* in a contrary style could have been tolerated in the Mauryan stronghold of the Northeast, especially one that praised kings who, unlike the Mauryas, increased the performance of sacrifices.[25]

These remarks refer rather vaguely to the cultural and political climate of Magadhan times, but it is possible to be more specific. Vālmīki is quite clear what Rāvaṇa's prime fault is, his *kāma* or inordinate desire (which alone explains the abduction of Sītā). In Vālmīki's imagination this vice seems endemic to kingship, because Daśaratha, Vālī, and then Sugrīva suffer from it, too. By contrast, the contemporary dissatisfaction with Magadhan rulers did not arise

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25 Consider Aśoka's program carefully. Aśoka bans killing, which must have precluded brahminical sacrifices. Rāma kills demons who prevent the sages in the forest from sacrificing. Aśoka bans religious assemblies (*samājas*) except for those that propagate his *dhamma*, and he looks down upon religious festivals and women's rites. Vālmīki says that festivals and assemblies (*utsavaśca samājaśca*) thrive in a state with a king (2.61.13). Aśoka propagates his *dhamma*, at times personally, through images of celestial cars, elephants, and hell-fire and through abstract moral discourses, just the opposite of Vālmīki's approach. And of course Aśoka appointed *Dharma-mahāmātras* active in all religious groups (he singles out brahmins for special mention) to insure his *dhamma* is propagated and obeyed. See. Sircar D. C., *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, New Delhi, 1957 and *Aś kan Studies* Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1979.

It is interesting to ask to what extent Aśoka was successful. Citing the manufacture of female figurines (presumably mother goddesses), S. P. Gupta argues that *samājas* continued unabated right through Aśoka's time (p. 180), but his conclusion is much too hasty. Such figurines are not self-evidently intended for public assemblies, and Gupta gives us no evidence to suppose that they were. In fact, given the conventions according to which such finds have been routinely reported for early historical India (bare lists of objects identifying only the layer in which they were found), I would be very much surprised if any pertinent information has been included in any of the site reports. Archaeologists are in a position to gauge the extent of Aśoka's activities, but to do so they must first provide reports in which the exact position, disposition, and full context of each and every artefact is carefully noted, so that more sophisticated analytical techniques may then be applied. In any case, I doubt that the climate of Mauryan India was of the sort to inspire a poet to the kind of monumental greatness we witness in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

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because they were dissolute. The Nandas were low born, took advantage of their subjects, and as a result were despised by the poeple (or so the Mauryas said). The Mauryas were hated, when they were hated, for their centralized control (cp. Salisuka). In this respect, Rāvaṇa hardly seems modelled on Magadhan rulers. Conversely, our scenario alleged that brahmins were hostile to the Mauryas because they supported heterodoxy, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* is far from condemning Rāvaṇa of heterodoxy, of which Vālmīki takes no cognizance. It condemns Rāvaṇa of just the opposite, a carnal hedonism strikingly at odds with the Buddha's middle way or Jain austerities (recall the legend of Candragupta's ritual suicide). And although Rāvaṇa may be a hedonist, he is a brahminical hedonist : he and his subordinates know the Vedas, follow Vedic observances, and engage in sacrifices with considerable success.

As the resolution of our focus becomes sharper, the contiguous pieces continue not to fit. Let me give one rather specific example.[26] The genetic relationship between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Daśaratha Jātaka* is uncertain, but the very existence of a *Daśaratha Jātaka* establishes two points : first, the formulaic tradition included a tradition about a prince named Rāma who was exiled by his father; second, the location of Rāma's home and the route of his exile could be realized differently. The *Daśaratha Jātaka* sends Rāma, a prince of Kāśī, to a rather vague exile in the north. Vālmīki sends Rāma, a prince of Ayodhyā, to exile in the south by a very specific route, and one that is specific in rather curious ways.

Vālmīki has Rāma visit the holy confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā rivers, but Rāma does not travel straight from Ayodhyā to Prayāga. He first heads south and to the west, to the neighborhood of Śṛṅgaverapura, where he leaves the kingdom of Kosala and venerates the Gaṅgā. Rāma cannot actually enter Śṛṅgaverapura (he has vowed to dwell in the forest), but he is received outside the city by his old friend, the local *rājā* Guha, who offers Rāma his kingdom in friendship. The next morning Rāma crosses the Gaṅgā into the territory of the Vatsas, then heads almost due east to Bharadvāja's *āśrama* at Prayāga. From there he goes back west and south to Citrakūṭa.

This zigzagging course has certain implications Among other things, Vālmīki evidently wanted to emphasize the encounter of Rāma and Guha, who appears every time this region is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, even if Rama could not set foot in Śṛṅgaverapura. The question is, when and why would he want to do so ?

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26 Others are possible. As I shall mention later, Sankalia has noted that the persence of wine in Lanka and Bharadvaja's *āśrama* refers to a situation that does not begin on the Indian subcontinent until the 1st century BCE; see pp. 47-48.

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Any monumental poem celebrating a hero of Ayodhyā and totally ignoring Pāṭaliputra would be suspect during an era of Magadhan supremacy. More so, then, a poem which postulates a king of Ayodhyā, who is the exact antithesis of the Maurya ruler, establishing a relation of fealty with another local power. I suppose it is possible to read the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a subversive work, but this interpretation seems strained. Not only does the poem condemn the wrong kinds of vices to be a critique of Mauryan rulers; Śṛṅgaverapura seems an unlikely ally if one were trying to foment revolt.[27] Why not show Rāma visiting Kausāmbi, since he was heading virtually straight for that city until he veered east after crossing the Gaṅga and missed it completely ?

It makes more sense to see Vālmīki including this incident in his account of Rāma's journey at a time when Ayodhyā had real interests in Śṛṅgaverapura as a feudatory. This is precisely the situation not in the Magadhan period but in the next period, the Śuṅga period. At that time Ayodhyā became the capital of an independent Kosala, a position signalled by the series of coins which its kings issued. Śṛṅgaverapura, too, was becoming increasingly prosperous By the first century CE it had huge tanks whose size was second to none in India. Local powers seem to have found Śṛṅgaverapura interesting. In his excavations B. B. Lal found Kausāmbi's "lanky bull" coins there. He also found, dating slightly later, coins and seals from the Śuṇga kings of Ayodhyā, such as the well-known Dhanadeva. It is, in fact, only for the Śuṅga period that we can demonstrate the definite Ayodhyan interest in Śṛṅgaverapura that the meeting between Rāma and Guha entails.[28]

A Śuṅga date for the *Rāmāyaṇa* is preferable not just in regard to relations between Ayodhyā and Śṛṅgaverapura. In every respect that the Magadhan era does not fit the circumstances required for the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Suṅga period fits snugly—and in many other respects as well.

VII

The Mauryas were overthrown by a military coup. Legend has it that General Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, a brahmin by birth, assembled his troops as if to parade them before the emperor, Bṛhadratha. When Bṛhadratha arrived, Puṣya-

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27 The historical circumstances also do not fit. The Mauryas were overthrown by a coup at the centre; there is no evidence of any revolt in a province of the Northeast until after Mauryan times.

28 Lal B. B. and Dikshit K. N., "Sringaverpura < *sic* > : A Keysite for the Protohistory and early History of the Central Ganga Valley", *Puratattva : Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Survey* Vol. 10, 1978-1979, pp. 1-8. Details not given in the article were obtained in conversation with Prof. Lal May 12, 1989.

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mitra killed him and assumed control. The general contours of the historical period that this assassination inaugurated are only now beginning to emerge from the mist, but what contours we do see fit the circumstances required for the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Buddhist sources portray Puṣyamitra as a wicked tormentor who at one point placed a bounty of 100 *denarii* on the head of Buddhist monks.[29] No independent source corroborates this Buddhist portrait, but it is certain that Puṣyamitra initiated a brahminical revival. Patañjali refers to one of Puṣyamitra's sacrifices as still in progress, perhaps identifying himself as Puṣyamitra's *purohita* (3.2.123). Literary testimony that Puṣyamitra celebrated an *aśvamedha* is corroborated by an inscription from Ayodhyā attributing not one but two *aśvamedha*s to him.[30] Archaeology has revealed a more grisly side to this revival. The walls of Kausāmbi were rebuilt about 175 BCE after a Greek attack. The construction started with an elaborate *puruṣamedha*—an actual sacrifice of human beings—on a " flyinghawk altar " according to the Taittiriya school of the Black Yajurveda.[31] The practice may revolt us, as it would surely have revolted Aśoka (cp. Rock Edict 1), but it, together with the continuing patronage of brahminical sacrifices by Ayodhyan Śuṇgas, is consistent with Vālmīki's praise of kings who increase the performance of sacrifices.

Puṣyamitra's reign also initiated a linguistic shift from the common Prakrit to brahminical Sanskrit as an official medium of communication. Inscriptions now begin to appear in (broken) Sanskrit, and when Patañjali writes a commentary on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in Pāṭaliputra, probably during Puṣyamitra's reign, his grammatical efforts may not be motivated simply by an interest in pure scholarship. The eventual result of the shift to Sanskrit in the Northeast was a sophisticated tradition of Sanskrit *kāvya*, but that development came later. The move is important here because it frees us from wondering why Sanskrit would

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29 The *Divyāvadāna*, quoted by Sinha Bimod Chandra, *History of the Sunga Dynasty*, Bharatiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 13-14. The reference to *denarii* is suspicious. The *denarius* is a Roman coin that, according to Sinha, first appears in India in the first century CE, or two centuries after Puṣyamitra (p. 9).

30 Sircar D. C., *Select Historical Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. 1 : *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.*, 2d ed. University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1965, p. 95.

31 Sharma G. R., *Excavations at Kausambi (1957-1959)*, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 1960. The Taittiriya school is the only Vedic school that Vālmīki specifically mentions; see 2.29.13.

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have been used to compose the monumental *ādikāvya*. Significantly, Nilmadhav Sen has identified several instances of Prakritism in Vālmīki's language.[32]

With the overthrow of the Mauryas, the artistic climate changed, too. In the reliefs from the stupa at Bharhut (2nd century BCE) elite, abstract symbolization and the sculpting techniques needed to produce it have disappeared. Sculptors turned to entirely different techniques of stone carving in order to represent narratives of a popular character, mostly derived from the Jātakas.[33] The narrative tendency at Bharhut was not an isolated experience : it announced a general trend. For example, a century later Sanchi received more sophisticated examples of sculpture in the same narrative style, but its artists found the life of the Buddha more attractive than the Jātakas. Along with the carving of stories, the actual telling of stories seems to have blossomed, too. The tales depicted on the Bharhut railings were unfamiliar enough that they required captions to identify them; but by the time of the Śuṅga contributions to Sanchi, captions were no longer necessary. In such a period, when narratives drawing upon the popular imagination were central to creative activity, we would expect the impulse to construct a monumental, unified narrative epic to arise. In this regard, it is telling that the Jātakas, like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, tell tales of the pre-Buddhist era.[34]

The inscriptions at Bharhut also indicate a favorable change in the sociology of art. Mauryan monumental art flourished under direct imperial patronage, but at Bharhut the Buddhist Saṅgha utilized the resources not only of the throne but also of well-to-do merchants. In the Śuṅga period, then, monumental art could be somewhat independent of direct royal patronage, and an artist like Vālmīki would have more freedom to construct a monumental narrative that might at least indirectly critique certain rulers. It is curious, then, that Śuṅga rulers, who were brahmins, abandoned the austerities of Mauryan ethicism for the pleasures of the good life. When a certain Mitradeva killed the Śuṅga king Vasumitra and, according to some speculations, established at Ayodhyā the first Śuṅga principality independent of Pāṭaliputra, the charge that justified this act of treason was quite pointed : Vasumitra was a dissolute hedonist. According to the much

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32 E.g., Sen Nilmadhav, " Un-Paninian Nominal Declension in the Ramayana ", *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* Vol. 5, 1955-1956, pp. 169-186; e.g., p. 170 : " The above examples are cases of pure Prakritism ".

33 This stylistic shift is the central thesis of Niharrajan Ray.

34 For an analogy of the relation between representational and poetic use of narrative from the Greek context, see Anthony M. Snodgrass, " Poet and Painter in Eighth Century Greece ", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 205, 1979, pp. 118-130, and " Towards the Interpretation of Geometric Figure-Scenes ", *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 95, 1980, pp. 51-58.

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later Bāṇa, he was killed while dallying with a courtesan during a dramatic performance.[35] Archaeology provides an interesting, complementary glimpse at life in Śuṅga times. The drinking of wine is central to Vālmīki's portrayal of the delights of Bharadvāja's *āśrama* and Laṅkā, but it is noticeably absent from his description of Ayodhyā. Is it just an accident that the first archaeological evidence for the widespread practice of drinking among Indians all over the subcontinent dates to the Śuṅga period (1st century BCE) ?[36]

Unlike circumstances during the Mauryan period, then, the circumstances of the Śuṅga period were quite well suited to produce a monumental epic such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In addition to these circumstances and Ayodhyā's interest in Śṛṅgaverapura, there are other, more specific indications of a Śuṅga date for the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s narrative. Strictly speaking, all these indications are circumstantial, but they gain a momentum that is difficult to counter

Consider once again Rāma's journey to the south. When Rāma leaves Śṛṅgaverapura, he travels east to the *saṅgama* and there visits Bharadvāja's *āśrama*. Rāma's destination at the site of the confluence is extremely peculiar. First, Vālmīki cannot decide whether the *āśrama* lies north or south of the Yamunā river.[37] Second, J. S. Negi, who is completing a book on the prehistory and history of Allahabad, informs me that Bharadvaja's *āśrama* is completely

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35 Mookerji R. K., " The Fall of the Magadhan Empire ", in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, vol. 2 of *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. Majumdar R. C. et al., 4th ed. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1968, pp. 95-100; Prof. Jagannath (*sic*), " Post-Mauryan Dynasties (184 B.C. to A.D 200) ", in *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. 2 : *The Mauryas and Satavahanas 325 B.C.—A.D. 300*, ed. Sastri K. A. Nilakanta, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1957, pp. 94-115; and *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1 : *Ancient India*, ed. Rapson E. J., 1921; reprint ed., S. Chand, Delhi, 1955, pp. 467-469.

36 Sankalia, pp. 47-48; 94.

37 As Bharata (2.105.21, cp. 4-6) and Hanuman (6.113 19) proceed from Bharadvaja's *āśrama* to Śṛṅgaverapura, they must cross the Yamuna river, which is possible only if the *āśrama*, lies to the south of the *saṅgama*. It is more common, however, for persons to cross the *saṅgama* when going south of the *āśrama*, as Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa do on their way to Citrakūṭa. Lal's excavations have turned up only shreds of material from the early NBP ware at what is now considered to be the site of Bharadvaja's *āśrama*. Full habitation does not begin until the Gupta period. Although Lal's findings might be consistent with the existence of an *āśrama*, or really any early NBPW settlement, in the face of Vālmīki's uncertainty, I am not inclined to attach too much weight to them.

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unknown except in the *Rāmāyaṇa* traditions.[38] Unlike so many other famous pilgrimage sites at Prayāga, it is not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* or the Purāṇas nor was it known to any of the various ancient travellers who visited the site. It is conceivable that Vālmīki had Rāma veer east to the area of Prayāga, not yet a city even in Śuṅga times,[39] in order to avoid Kausāmbi, a major rival to the south. But why have Rāma visit Bharadvāja's *āśrama*, which no one else knew, and why assign Bharadvāja such a prominent role in the poem ? I can offer no definite explanation, but it certainly looks suspicious when we learn from Pāṇini (4.1.117) that the Śuṅgas considered themselves descendants of Bharadvāja.

From Prayāg Rāma travels southwest to Citrakūṭa, through a region that Chinese travellers still knew as a dense forest haunted by elephants and wild beasts, around 500 CE [40] Then from Citrakūṭa he wends his way to the Godāvarī River by a path that is totally vague and unspecific. Many scholars have thought that Vālmīki's vagueness indicates his limited geographical horizons, but we would have to place Vālmīki too early if we wanted to ascribe this silence to general ignorance. Starting about the 4th century BCE, trade routes began to run all through the territory south of the Yamunā A major route ran from Paṭaliputra through Vārāṇasī, Kausāmbi, Vidiśā, and Ujjain and eventually reached the sea at Bharuch. Another route ran from Śrāvasti and Sāketa to Kausāmbi, where it joined the road west until Ujjain, from which point it branched south to Pratiṣṭhān and Nasik, both on the Godāvarī. This is the route Rāma takes from Ayodhyā until he crosses the Gaṅgā. There were also outposts at Maheśwar on the middle Narmadā and Tripurī (Jabalpur) toward the river's beginning, perhaps connected directly with Pāṭaliputra via the Son.[41] Vālmīki must have known these trade routes to some extent : over them came the precious materials with which he adorned Laṅkā. We must suppose, then, that he was vague about the regions south of Citrakūṭa for other reasons. The most plausible explanation I know of presupposes the existence of an independent Kosala. In the Śuṅga period, the southern trade routes lay in the hand of Ayodhyā's Śuṅga rivals, and they were associated with places of religious importance. Bharhut and Sanchi lay along these routes, and merchants, and officials from Vidiśā Kausāmbi, and Pāṭaliputra

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38 Personal conversation, April 21, 1989. Cp. B. C. Law. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, 2d. ed , rev. Societe Asiaaatique de Paris, (Paris, 1968), s. v. Bharadvaja's *āśrama*.

39 Cp. Roy U. N., " Prayaga in Legend and History, " in *Studies in Ancient India History and Culture*, Lokbharti Publications, Allahabad, 1969, pp. 172-233.

40 Cp. the end of Hiuen Tsang's account of Prayaga.

41 Cp. Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977.

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(but not Ayodhyā) made significant contributions to the Śuṇga constructions at these sites. In reciting a tale of Rāma's exile to the south, there was only one way Vālmīki could avoid lending additional sacrality to the lands of Kosala's rivals once Rāma left the area of Citrakūṭa. He had to say nothing geographically specific at all. Thus, Vālmīki's vague southern geography may be of one piece with his failure to mention any major regional power besides Ayodhyā.

Other features of the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s narrative appear to reflect the conditions of Śuṅga Kosala. Central to Vālmīki's brahmanism is the conception of Rāma as the best of the *dharmabhṛtām*, the best representative of *dharma*. Dhanadeva, a king of Kosala sixth in line from Puṣyamitra, set up an inscription in the vicinity of Ayodhyā. In it, he styled himself "*dharmarāja*," reminiscent of his Maurya predecessor Aśoka but with unmistakably brahminical overtones.[42] In talking with Rāma, Bharata states, "Some say the king is a human being, but I think of him as a god" (2. 95.4). The Maurya kings would certainly not have admitted this claim, and no kings before them seemed to have actually claimed divinity, either.[43] In this regard, the names of the Śuṅga kings of Kosala are intriguing. Most Śuṅga names end in—*mitra*, linking the line with the solar dynasty. The kings of Ayodhyā were unique among the Śuṅgas in ending their names in—*deva*, i.e., "—god." These names are the first, indirect evidence we have of any Indian kings claiming more than human status for themselves. Again, when Homer formulated the *Iliad*, it appears that he used many names and patronyms that were already found among the leading men on the coast of Asia Minor. There is no reason why Vālmīki would have had to have done the same, but if he were composing in Śuṅga Kosala, he certainly did. Daśaratha was the name of the grandson of Aśoka who donated three caves to the Ājīvikas. Vasumitra, the Śuṇga king killed by Mitradeva, was also known as Sumitra, and this name is reminiscent of Saumitri, Lakṣmaṇa's matronymic (after Sumitrā). Rāma is frequently referred to as the elder brother (*jyeṣṭha*) of Lakṣmaṇa; curiously, the Śuṅga predecessor of Sumitra was known as Sujyeṣṭha. Finally, Vālmīki's description of the overthrow of Laṅkā is clearly stereotyped and exaggerated, but I wonder if Vālmīki could have described the siege of the city, its burning by Hanumān, and the warfare around it in a context where sieges had not occurred. After the rise of Magadha, the Northeast was immune from attack. The first foreign invasions did not come until the beginning of the Śuṅga dynasty, and then the Greeks besieged Ayodhyā itself.[44]

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42 Sircar, p. 95.

43 Thapar, "Ideology," p. 13.

44 Patañjali *aruṇad yavanāḥ Sāketam* (quoted by Mukherji, p. 96). Cp. Sankalia's general history of Ayodhya, p. 53, and that given by Bakker.

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At the level of trivia there are other parallels between the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s defining narrative and the Śuṅga period, but it does not seem of much use to recite them here. Given the current state of our knowledge, it is most likely that Vālmīki's defining narrative was composed during the Śuṅga period. If I wanted to be more specific, I would guess it was composed after the *-devas* of Ayodhyā set themselves up as an independent dynasty.[45] In another context I intend to discuss the implications of this date for our conception of Vālmīki's poetic activity. Before I close here, I want to tie up a few loose ends.

VIII

Only one argument from silence remains. Vālmīki's silence about southern geography could result from partisan motives as easily as from actual ignorance. His failure to mention Pāṭaliputra might be due to his general attitude to other regional powers. It was also well-known in antiquity that Pāṭaliputra was "founded" by Ajātaśatru and that Ajātaśatru had humiliated Kosala. If Vālmīki had placed Rāma at Pāṭaliputra, he would have immediately lost his credibility : there would have been no time at which Rāma might plausibly have lived. But how could a brahminical poet in Śuṅga times fail to demonstrate any knowledge of Buddhism, especially during such a powerful anti-Buddhist reaction as Puṣyamitra represents ?

The first point to keep in mind is that the relations between Buddhism and brahminism were not relations of simple antagonism, even in the Śuṅga period. If Puṣyamitra seems to represent an adamant anti-heterodox position, the *stupa*s at Bharhut and Sanchi represent the opposite. They received their artistic riches in part from the hands of Śuṅga rulers. It is true that no residents of Kosala contributed to the construction of these *stupa*s, but that could be due as much to geography as to religious conviction. There are a couple of vast, artificial mounds at Ayodhyā that could have been *stupa*s, too, but so far as I know they have not been seriously explored.[46] It is probably better to imagine brahminism and Buddhism coexisting throughout most of Indian antiquity, as we know they did among the Ikṣvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā (3d century CE). The Ikṣvāku

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45 Such a late date has two other advantages. (1) It avoids the otherwise long interval between the Postulated composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the first evidence we have that it existed. (2) It is the only date that makes complete sense of the history of Sanskrit *Kāvya*. Otherwise we are left to wonder why Vālmīki would have composed the *Rāmāyaṇa* so early, and then no one else composed another until Aśvaghosa came along at the end of the 1st eant. CE.

46 This was my first impression, and that of others, too; cf. Bakker, pp. 15-18.

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kings celebrated elaborate brahminical sacrifices at the same time that their closest relatives (even their queens) constructed elaborate Buddhist monuments.[47]

Second, it is not quite accurate to say that Vālmīki demonstrates no knowledge of Buddhism. Vālmīki may not mention the Buddha, but he certainly shares many traits, major and minor, with the developed heterodox traditions. Rāma's famed equanimity in *sukha* and *duḥkha* seems to evaporate once Sītā is abducted; for this very reason we may suspect that Vālmīki had extra-poetic motives in ascribing this typical śramaṇic virtue to his hero. Vālmīki's constant denigration of *kāma* is totally foreign to the Vedic outlook,[48] but entirely worthy of any śramaṇic teacher. Like the Buddhists, especially the Buddhists of Bharhut and Sanchi, Vālmiki pays much attention to sacred trees. When Rāma spends a blissful and refreshing night under a tree outside Śṛṅgaverapura, we should not forget that this tree was the *ficus religiosa*, also known as the bo-tree. Some passages seem to be oblique references to a climate in which *nāstika* teachings were flourishing : "You can no more carry of Vaidehī than the revelation of the Vedas can be destroyed by the reasons of logic" (3.48 21; cp. 2.27.31). Finally, Vālmīki focuses on the moral rather than the ritual actions of a human being and confines the gods to the role of passive spectators. The brahminical gods play exactly the same role in legends of the Buddha's life, while the broadening of *dharma* to include all of life, together with a devaluing of ritual *karma*, was central to the heterodox vision, and may well have been a heterodox creation. In these and other ways, too,[49] Vālmīki's perspective is at least consistent with the non-brahminical movements that were so pervasive in the Northeast after the 6th century BCE.

The real issue, then, is not that the *Rāmāyaṇa* looks at the world from a perspective that seems totally ignorant of heterodox contributions. It is just that Vālmīki fails to mention names like "Buddha." Other forces were likely at work to produce this result : except for the pointed addition to Jābāli's speech (*2241. 13-14), none of the other passages athetized by the critical edition explicitly mentions the Buddha or Buddhism either, and some of them must be very late. Perhaps it was a matter politeness : we know that later Buddhists listened to the *Rāmāyaṇa* with as much delight as brahminists. Perhaps it was a matter of policy : not mentioning a rival could be one way of maintaining a

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47 Krishna Murthy K., *Nagarjunakonda : A Cultural Study*, Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1977, p. 5.

48 See Thite G. U., *Sacrifice in the Brahmanas* University of Poona, Pune, 1975, p. 230.

49 Sankalia, for example, sees evidence of *stupas* in Vālmīki's descriptions of towns. On *śramaṇas* in general, see Pande, G. C. *Sramana Tradition*. L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1978.

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peaceful coexistence. Perhaps it was a matter of intent : Vālmīki does not quarrel with those who adhere to an alternate *dharma* but with those who violate *dharma*. Or may be it was just as simple as knowing that Buddha was an older contemporary of Ajātaśatru. Any explicit mention of the Buddha or Budhism by a character in the story would automatically make the story implausilbe. In any case, the argument should not be pressed too hard, for it can lead to absurd conclusions. There is no direct evidence of Vedic sacrifice on the stūpa at Bharhut. Perhaps we should conclude that it dates before a time when Vedic rites were known.[50]

IX

Let me close with some brief remarks about historical implications, more to point in a direction than to argue for a position.

It is fashionable in India to read the *Rāmāyaṇa* as history in disguise. Rāma's excursion south represents the advance of Aryanization; the monkeys, bears, and demons are not monkeys, bears, and demons but tribal peoples as the Aryans thought of them. This manner of interpreting tales went out of fashion in Europe (where it originated) long ago. But such interpretations remain of obvious ideological utility to those who need to maintain some conviction that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is historical, provided they can identify with the " Āryans ".

The *Rāmāyaṇa* as we have it today does not portray Aryanization. The difference between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is not that between Aryan and non-Aryan but between those who observe brahminical religion and are faithful to *dharma* and those who, like Rāvaṇa, observe brahminical religion but violate *dharma*. This contrast provides the only motivation given or needed for the abduction of Sītā, and it accounts superbly for the tension that the narrative resolves. Since there is no reason to postulate any prior version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in general, there is no good reason to postulate any prior version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which Aryanization was Vālmīki's intended theme.

If we take a Śuṅga date for Vālmīki seriously, we shall also have to dispense with the racist idea that the monkeys, bears, and demons were not monkeys, bears, and demons. The second panel on the east face, west pillar, north gateway at Sanchi clearly depicts a monkey making an offering to the Buddha. According to the ASI guidebook, this act of veneration, so reminiscent of Hanumān's devotion to Rāma, was " regarded as one of the eight important events of

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50 There is indirect evidence, such as one finds of the śramanic traditions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. See Luders, H. ed. *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Corpus inscriptionum indicarum vol. 2, part 2, rev. Waldschmidt E. and Mehendale M. A. Archaeological Survey of India, Ootacamund, 1963, inscriptions B51 and B66, and the editor's comments on personal names, pp. 4-5.

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< the > Buddha's life ".[51] In such a climate, an audience listening to the *Rāmāyaṇa* is likely to have taken the army of *vānaras* to be literally an army of monkeys, as all Indians seem to have done until the arrival of Europeans with their spurious historicizing of myths.

Finally, I am sceptical that the *Rāmāyaṇa* records historical facts, and I am certain that we cannot use the poem directly to write history. It would be difficult for a Śuṅga Vālmīki, writing about events that allegedly took place before the arising of Buddhism and framing them within a cultural setting that they could not possibly have had, to reproduce these events accurately. In this regard, Vālmīki is no different from, say, Homer, who may preserve memories of Mycenaean settlements and artefacts, but whose poems record events that are almost certainly pure fantasy.[52]

Some will object that the idea for the *Rāmāyaṇa*—say, the exile of a prince by his father—must have come from somewhere, and that the traditional poets could well have preserved, in transmuted form, the memory of actual events. The suggestion is a fair one, and perhaps it is also correct. But let us spell out its implications carefully. In those cases where we can check formulaic poems against the events which they allegedly report, the poetic tradition has so transformed actual happenings that they are unrecognizable. Given the possibility of such drastic changes, the only way to determine which aspects of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have preserved the memory of actual events is to have some reliable, external record of the events themselves. To phrase this another way : in theory we can check the *Rāmāyaṇa* against history, but we can never use it directly to write history.

In making these comments, I do not mean to deny the profundity, merit, and value of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a religious work. The poem's immense religious significance will certainly outlast anything I have to say. Devout Hindus who take the position I present here seriously may want to consider a line of reasoning that D. T. Suzuki once suggested. History, after all, is just our attempt to make sense of the fragments of the past that we happen to know. It can never fully accommodate Truth, which is what is.

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51 Mitra, Debalal, *Sanchi*, 2d ed., Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1965, p. 38.

52 Among classicists today, this statement would not require any support. For representative attitudes, Indologists may consult Ian Morris, " The Use and Abuse of Homer, " *Classical Antiquity* 5, no. 1, April 1986, pp. 80-136, and O. T. P. K. Dickinson, " Homer, the Poet of the Dark Ages, " *Greece and Rome*, 2d series, 33, no. 1, April 1986, pp. 20-37.

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UNUSUAL NOMINAL FORMS WITH PRAKRIT SUFFIXES IN THE OLDEST PALI LITERATURE*

By

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There are a number of nominal forms in Pali and Prakrit which have common suffixes except with some phonological changes. But some nominal suffixes are exclusively associated with Prakrit only, e.g. nom. sg. forms of इ stems ending with long ई, genitive plural forms ending with ण, instrumental singular forms of अ ending masculine and neuter stems having एणं and locative plural forms ending with सुं. These types of Prakrit forms are traceable in the oldest Pali literature which are quite unusual for Pali language.

1. Nominative singular forms of इ ending stems.

According to the Pali grammar masculine and feminine stems ending with short इ retain their short इ in the nominative singular, e.g. मुनि for मुनि (M) and दिट्ठि for दिट्ठि (F). Such forms are regularly available in the Pali literature. But unusual forms like मुनी and दिट्ठी are sometimes traceable in the oldest Pali literature. Some examples of them are as follows :—

(a) सुत्तनिपात

(i) अञ्ञेन सो सु ज्झति सोपधीको ।
दिट्ठी हि नं पाव तथा वदानं ॥ (42.2, V.l. दिट्ठि)

(ii) नमुची करुणं वाचं, भासमानो उपागमि ॥ (28.1, V.l. नमुचि.)

(iii) न मुनी गाममागम्म, कुलेसु सहसा चरे ॥ (37.33. Vl. मुनि.)

(iv) विपन्नदिट्ठी मायावी, तं जञ्ञा वसलो इति ॥ (7.1, no, Vl.)

In some cases short इ is available in the text but the variants are in long ई, eg. मुनि 44.8, कित्ति 45.4, निरासत्ति 48.4, दिट्ठि 50.4, कतञ्जलि 55.48 (variants मुनी, कित्ती, निरासत्ती, दिट्ठी, कतञ्जली). Some other instances ending with long ई with or without variants are as follows :—

उपधी 2.16, 17, रती 3.7, कसी 4.5, मुनी 12.4, 10; 47.11, 49.16 दिट्ठी 50.12, पीती सती 72.20, अच्ची 61.6. (V.l. अच्चि), मुनी 12.3, 14 (V.l. मुनि), गवंपती 2.10 (V.l. गवंपति)

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Prof. Geiger (32.1) observes in his Pali grammar that on account of the metre very often short vowels are lengthened and further he says also that sometimes they may however occur when there is no pressure of metre. However under the paradigms of declensions of the इ ending stems, he has not quoted any instance of nominative singular form ending with long ई. In the instances quoted above No. (ii), (iii) and (iv) ending with long ई have no pressure of metre.

Now we would like to find out whether the forms ending with long ई found place in the Pali literature on account of their popularity in the spoken language.

In Prakrit stems ending with short इ have long ई in their nominative singular and this is the regular grammatical form of Prakrit. When such a type of form became popular it was accepted as a regular form in the Prakrit language. This popularity was the main reason why this type of forms found place in the Pali language also. We have already pointed out that forms with long ई are found in Pali not only *metricausa*. The proof of the popularity of such forms is there in the earliest inscriptions. The Ashokan inscriptions have both the types of forms ending with short इ as well as long ई. As regards the fourteen rock-edicts of Ashoka, our findings are as follows :—Kālasī. Shāhabāzagaḍhī and Mānsehrā versions have short इ only whereas the others have both the forms. At Girnār, 19 out of 22, at Dhaulī 8 out of 15, at Jaugaḍh 4 out of 5, at Jaugaḍh (Sep. R.E.) 3 out of 8 and at Dhaulī (Sep. R.E.) 2 out of 12 end with long ई. At Sopārā only one form is available and that ends with long ई (रती). The instances of words frequency-wise are as follows :—

Girnār :— लिपी (5), वधी (1), वडी (4), वचिगुनी (1), पीती (1), असंप्रतिपती (6), अहींनी (1); Dhaulī :— लिपी (4), वुडी (1), सुधी (1), रती (1), अनुसथी (1); Jaugadh :- लिपी (3), सुधी (1), Dhauli Sep :— अनुसथी (2), and Jaugadh Sep :— लिपी (3). These are all feminine forms but in one of the pillar-inscriptions of Ashoka there is a masculine nominative singular form which ends with long ई (सक्यमुनी, Mehendale, p. 29).

2. Forms of Genitive plural with न (Prakrit ण) suffix.

Genitive plural forms of vowel ending stems append नं suffix in Pali. But instances can be traced with न suffix.

(a) सुत्तनिपात :—

(i) अक्खातारं पवत्तारं, सब्बधम्मान पारगुं । (9.15)
(ii) आतुरानं हि का निद्दा सल्लविद्धान रुप्पतं । (22.1)
(iii) तीणस्स लक्खणा गत्ते तिण्णं वेदान पारगू । (55.14)
(iv) पहानं कामच्छंदानं दोमनस्सान चूभयं । (68.2)

Some other instances are गिम्हान 13.12, अरियसच्चान 16.10, सब्बधम्मान 37.21, 55.17 etc.

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(b) धम्मपद :—

(i) दीघो बालान संसारो सद्धम्मं अविजानतं । (60. VI. बालानं)

(ii) किच्छो मनुस्स पटिलाभो, किच्छं मच्छान जीवितं (182)

(iii) एत बुद्धान सासनं । (183, 185)

(iv) एतेहि तीहि ठानेहि गच्छे देवान सन्तिके । (2.24).

(c) उदान :—

एतं बुद्धान सासनं । (4.6)

(d) इति वुत्तक

करं मित्तानं वचनं (17, V.1 मित्तान)

In this part of the *Śloka* the metre is not correctly maintained.

(e) खुद्दकपाठ :—

(i) तपो च ब्रह्मचरियं च, अरियसच्चान दस्सनं । (5.10)

(ii) पेतान पूजा च कता उळारा (7.12)

(f) थेरगाथा :—

(i) अनुसासि महावीरो, सब्बधम्मान पारगू । (69)

(ii) साधु सुविहितान दस्सनं । (78)

(iii) पूजितो पूजनेय्यानं सक्करेय्यान सक्कतो । (189)

(iv) अनुयुञ्जेथ मेधावी, सरं बुद्धान सासनं । (207)

(v) अज्झायको पि चे अस्स, तिण्णं वेदान पारगू । (1147)

(vi) अथ अद्दसामि संबुद्धं सब्बधम्मान पारगुं । (1256)

(vii) मज्झेव नो भास समन्तचक्खु ।
सक्को व देवान सहस्सनेत्तो । (1269)

(g) थेरीगाथा :—

(i) परिञ्ञाता हि मे वत्थू यतो सोकान सम्भवो । (138)

(ii) समग्गे सावके पस्स, एसा बुद्धान वन्दना । (161)

(iii) जातस्स मरणं होति, हत्थपादान छेदनं । (191)

In the Ashokan inscriptions we find this type of forms in the north-west only. At Shahbazgadhi 12 out of 76, and at Mānaseharā 36 out of 60 forms of genitive plural end with न suffix. The frequency of the forms is as follows :—

Shahbazgadhi :—देवन (8), ब्रमणन (1), अभिरतन (1), भुतन (1) and गुरुन (1); Mansehra— देवन (18), मनुशन (1), प्रणन (3), भुतन (1), ब्रमणन (3), वध्रन (1), प्रवडन (2), अतिकन (1), रटूकपितिनिकन (1), ञतिन (2), गुरुन (1), भतन (1) and स्पसुन (1),

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At Kālasi there is one form शवपाशडान out of 66 but it has a variant also in शवपशिडनां. In the non-Ashokan inscriptions this न suffix is witnessed in the eastern group of the 3rd cent. B. C. (Mehendale, pp. 197 ff.) whereas in the western, southern and central groups it is witnessed from the 2nd cent. B.C. In the Kharoshthi inscriptions of the north-west, it is witnessed from the 1st cent. B. C.

3. Instrumental singular of अ ending stems.

In the सुत्तनिपात an instance of the Inst. Sg. of अ ending stem with the Prakrit suffix एनं is noteworthy. The text runs as follows :—

अदण्डेन असत्थेन धम्मेनमनुसासति 55.27. It has no variant. The form is धम्मेनं अनुसासति.

The text could be composed as धम्मेन अनुसासति without disturbing the metre, therefore, it is not a case of संधि-व्यंजन. A similar form can be traced in the थेरगाथा. The verse reads as follows :—

उभयेनं इदं मरणमे' व ना' मारणं पच्छा वा पुरे वा (1007). There is no variant of it.

This type of termination is witnessed for the first time in the inscription of the central group—Bhilsa). The instance is हारितीपुतेणं (Mehendale, p. 173) and the concerned inscription is dated 2nd or 1st cent. B.C.

4. Locative plural with the suffix सुं

Further in the सुत्तनिपात we witness a singular instance of locative plural with the suffix सुं which is also a Prakrit suffix. The verse is as follows :—

अब्रह्मचरियं परिवज्जयेय्य अंगारकासुं जलितंऽव विञ्ञू । (26.21) There is no variant of it.

It should be noted that Prof. Geiger has not referred to all the above instances quoted here from the oldest Pali texts which have appended suffixes that are exclusively Prakrit.

This analysis reveals that a particular suffix different from the usual literary one when gains popularity in the public, also gradually finds place in the later literature too.

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NOTES ON ORATORY IN SANSKRIT

By

T. VASUDEVAN*

The existence of Oratory in Sanskrit could be traced back to the Vedic period. The hymn VII-12 of *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) is an invocation of Indra for victory by a scholar-citizen who prepares to lecture before the assemblies called *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, expecting a tough verbal right.

सभा च समितिश्चावतां प्रजापतेर्दुहितरौ संविदाने ।
येना संगच्छा उप मा स शिक्षाच्चारु वदानि पितरः ॥ (AV. VII. 12, 1)

Here, according to commentator Sāyaṇa, *Sabhā* is the assembly of scholars and *Samiti* is the war council. The candidate for argument wishes to counter his rivals with reply full of convincing logic. He also appeals the other participants in the debate to support his words.

ये ते के च सभासदस्ते मे सन्तु सवाचसः । (AV VII-12, 2)

He has the eagerness to receive the wisdom of other scholars and prays Indra, who according to Sāyaṇa, is the lord of oratory, (*Indrasyaiva vāganuśāsanakartṛtvāt*) for victory in the contest.

एषामहं समासीनानां वर्चो विज्ञानमाददे ।
अस्याः सदस्याः संसदो मामिन्द्र भगिनं कृणु ॥ (AV. VII-12, 3)

A hymn in *Ṛgveda* (*RV*) refers to a victorious man in the assembly.

सर्वे नन्दन्ति यशसागतेन सभासाहेन सख्या सखायः ।
किल्बिषस्पृत् पितुषणिर्ह्येषामरं हितो भवति ॥ (RV. X. 71, 10)

In the *Mahābharata* (MB) and *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* we get references to the performance of tribal *sabhās* as political and administrative assemblies where speeches on various subjects had been delivered profusely. These may be the commutations of the *sabhās* known in the vedic times. MB *Virāṭaparvan* says that Yudhiṣṭhira lived in cognito as a *sabhāstara* (gambler) in Virāṭa's court. This also is in conformity with the usage of the word *sabhā* in another sense in the Vedas, the ' gambling-house '.

सभामेति कितवः (RV. X. 34, 6).

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According to Vidura, a scholar ought to be an excellent speaker who should be able to lecture on diverse topics, with apt quotations and ready interpretations.

प्रवृत्तवाक्चित्रकथ ऊहवान्प्रतिभानवान् ।
आशु ग्रन्थस्य वक्ता च स वै पण्डित उच्यते ॥
(M.B. *Prajāgaraparvan* 33.28)

Although the Sanskrit Alaṅkāraśāstra usually avoids a disscussion on the problems of this long-existing art of oratory, treatises on philosophy and dramaturgy have invariably encompassed the various concepts of oratory in their categories. The categories of knowledge in the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama consisted of methods of presentation of logical argumentation like *Tarka*, *Nirṇaya*, *Vāda*, *Jalpa*, *Vitaṇḍa*, *Chalam*, *Jāti*, and *Nigrahasthāna*.[1] The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS) of Bharatamuni declares :

वाङ्मयानीह शास्त्राणि वाङ्निष्ठानि तथैव च ।
तस्माद्वचः परं नास्ति वाग् हि सर्वस्य कारणम् ॥ (NS. 14.3)

The directions on *Vāgabhinaya* (action of verbal dialogues) especially in chs. 16 and 17 invite special attention. In this connection it can be reasonably surmised that the *Lakṣaṇās*, *Alaṅkāras* and *Guṇas* dealt with in the 16th chap. and the *pāṭhya Guṇas* described in the 17th chap. applies to oratory as to drama. Bharata notes the *Pāṭhyaguṇas* as follows :

तद्यथा सप्तस्वरा, त्रीणि स्थानानि, चत्वारो वर्णा, द्विविधा काकुः, षडलङ्कारा, षडङ्गानीति ॥
(NS. 17. 102 ff.)

नापशब्दं पठेत्तज्ज्ञो भिन्नवृत्तं तथैव हि ।
विश्रमेष्वविरामेषु दैन्ये काकुं न दीपयेत् ॥
वर्जितं काव्यदोषैस्तु लक्षणाढ्यं गुणान्वितम् ।
स्वरालङ्कारसंयुक्तं पठेदाढ्यं यथाविधि ॥ (NS. 17. 146-7)

Likewise, the directions given by Bharata and his followers for the *Bhāratī-vṛtti*, which is the verbal part of performance, should be extended to the art of oratory on common grounds.

भारती संस्कृतप्रायो वाग्व्यापारो नराश्रयः ।
तस्याः प्ररोचना वीथी तथा प्रहसनामुखे
अङ्गान्यत्रोन्मुखीकारः प्रशंसातः प्ररोचना ॥
(*Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6. 29-30)

In this concept, *rūpakas* like *vīthi* and *prahasana* form the main elements of *Bhāratīvṛtti* which is the verbal part of the play. It is a clear implication that they might have developed from some ancient forms of artistic oratory. Speech, assisted by actions by a single person is *Bhāṇa* which has rather a clear oratorial connection.

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1 Vide, First *Sūtra* of the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama.

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आत्मानुभूतशंसी परसंश्रवर्णनाविशेषस्तु ।
त्रिविधाश्रयो हि भाणो विज्ञेयस्त्वेकहार्यश्च ॥ (NS. 18. 108)

Commenting on this Abhinavagupta says,

एकेन पात्रेण हरणीयः सामाजिकहृदयं प्रापयितव्योऽर्थो यत्र स भाणः । एकमुखेनैव भण्यन्ते उक्तिमन्तः क्रियन्ते अप्रविष्टा अपि पात्रविशेषा यत्रेति भाणः । तत्र स प्रविष्टः पात्रविशेषः आत्मानुभूतं वा शंसति परगतं वा वर्णयति ।

It is also interesting to note that the Cākyārs who are the traditional actors of Sanskrit stage of Kūṭiyāṭṭam in Kerala are also great orators who can lecture on a given literary or moral theme for hours in local languages. The term Cākyār is supposed to be derived from the Sanskrit word '*Ślākhyagīr*,' though this is open to doubt. It is believed that they are the descendants of the puranic *Sūtas* who were the professional narrators of the ancients. '*Pāṭhaka*' and '*Prabandham kūttu*' are concerned with expositary oratory and the '*puruṣārtha-kūttu*' consisted long session of satirical lecture by the Cakyar dressed in Vidūṣaka's attire on the four *puruṣārthas*. The Cākyārs are very conscious about the qualities of the cloquence and the *sabhā*, the appreciative audience. The following verses are cited at the end of the performance of '*Mantrāṅka*', an act in Bhāsa's drama *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*[2] :

हृद्योद्योतितगद्यपद्यसुरनद्युद्यत्प्रवाहोन्नत–
त्वंगत्तुङ्गतरङ्गपूरविलसद्विद्वत्सभासागरे ।
प्रस्वेदोद्गतगद्गदाक्षरपदैर्गुह्यो विषादं विना
निस्सीमाः प्रसरन्ति कस्य विदुषो वक्त्राद् गिरां पङ्क्तयः ॥

अक्षरं यत्परिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनं तु यद्भवेत् ।
क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति विद्वांसः कस्य नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः ॥

अनेकविद्वज्जनरत्नसंवृतं वेदोदकन्यायतरङ्गसंवृतम् ।
अलङ्घनीयं गुरुमेहतीर्थं सभासमुद्रं शिरसा नमामि ॥

These traditions of the living Sanskrit stage also point to the strong ties between the artful oratory and some of the Sanskrit dramatic forms. A natural and logical development of artful oration, satirical or literary, mingled with mono act may lead to the development of *Bhāṇa*, *Vīthī* and *Prahasana* from it. At the same time, serious oratory, which has a well reasoned and scientific structure, was fostered by the philosophical schools, as we have referred to above.

Kālidāsa in the second canto of *Kumārasaṃbhava* (*KS*) has alluded to the qualities of good speech. According to him the eulogic speech should be heart rendering and based on facts. It pleases the lord whom it is composed for.

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2 Nambiar Narayanan P. K., *Mantrāṅkam*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trichur (1980), p. 132.

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इति तेभ्यः स्तुतीः श्रुत्वा यथार्था हृदयङ्गमाः ।
प्रसादाभिमुखो वेधाः प्रत्युवाच दिवौकसः ॥ (KS. II. 16)

The speech should be '*yathārtha*' and '*hṛdayaṅgama*'. In the same context, he delineates the supreme qualities of Brahmā's speech.

वचस्यवसिते तस्मिन् ससर्ज गिरमात्मभूः ।
गर्जितानन्तरां वृष्टिं सौभाग्येन जिगाय सा ॥ (KS. II. 53)

The speech of Brahmā, by its *Saubhāgya*, excelled the showers which followed the thunder. Here thunder implicates the striking qualities of sound in an ideal speech. The shower suggests the creative quality of the meaning of speech that imparts new vivacity to the attentive minds of the recepients. The verse also suggests that a gifted oratory comes into existence like a phenomenon of nature, a genuine and refreshing confluence of sound and sense together.

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BHĀSARVAJÑĀ'S CONCEPT OF THE NUMBER OF PRAMĀṆĀS

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Following the Sāṁkhya and the Jaina traditions, Bhāsarvajña accepts only three *pramāṇās* viz. *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama*. He rejects upamāna as a separate means of valid knowledge which was accepted by all other Naiyayikas as a separate means of valid knowledge. He also includes all the other *pramāṇās* under these three.

Upamāna—is it a separate pramāṇa ?

Discussing the problem of comparison that whether it is an independent source of valid knowledge Bhāsarvajña considers three different views of logicians—one as given by the Vṛddhanaiyāyikas, one by the Mīmāmsakās and the Vedantins and the third by the Jaraṇnaiyāyikas or senior logicians such as Uddyotakāra etc.

According to the Vṛddhanaiyāyikas a person is told by a forester who is a realiable person that a '*gavaya*' is like a cow. Passing through a forest the person sees a strange animal bearing similarity with the cow remembers the words of the forester and realizes its similarity with the cow and arrives at the conclusion that this is a '*gavaya*'. Here the knowledge of the similarity is the result. But Bhāsarvajña includes this knowledge under verbal testimony (*śabda*) because, here the words of the forester itself could give the same knowledge and hence it is futile to accept it as a separate *pramāṇa*, since every type of judgement due to its peculiar character will have some kind of peculiarity and its acceptance as separate *pramāṇās* will lead to infinitum regress.

According to the Mīmāmsakās the judgement arrived at the sight of a '*gavaya*' is, " the cow in my house is similar to the animal now I see ". That is it is " *gavayanirūpitagōviṣayakam jñānam* "—the knowledge derived at the sight of a '*gavaya*' through the cow in the house, whereas in the judgement of Vṛddhanaiyāyikās it is '*gōnirūpitagavayaviṣayakam jñānam*', just the opposite of the former. Here the judgement of the Mīmāmsakās is not perception since the cow is not cognised by the senses when the judgement is formulated. This is not verbal testimony too, since this judgement involves only perception of similarity,

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nor this is an inference for the mental process involved in this judgement is different and the similarity is not remembered. Bhāsarvajña considers this as nothing more than recollection as the perception of the cow also involves the perception of its similarity to the strange animal '*gavaya*' since the similarity is inherent in the Cow. This similarity is not produced in the Cow when the '*gavaya*' is seen, but the already present similarity becomes more manifested at the sight of the animal. Another point of objection considered by Bhāsarvajña in this connection is that when one sees the cow one had the knowledge of similarity in the abstract and when one goes to the forest and sees a '*gavaya*' one had determinate knowledge (*savikalpakajñāna*) of the semblance since both the correlatives are known. Here the knowledge acquired is the knowledge of the actual similarity whereas remembrance is the revival of an already received impression. Hence this knowledge is altogether knew derived through analogy and is not the revival of an old impression. Bhāsarvajña rejects this view on the ground that this knowledge is nothing more than smṛti because we have determinate remembrance (*savikalpakasmṛti*) from an indeterminate knowledge (*nirvikalpakajñāna*).

The third view considered by Bhāsarvajña is that of Jaraṇnaiyāyikās such as Uddyotakāra etc. The later Naiyayikas also hold this theory, according to whom the resulting judgement is the assertion that 'the animal perceived bears the name *gavaya*'. But Bhāsarvajña states that this is the result of the knowledge imparted by the forester and therefore does not require a separate means of knowledge, for, when a person is asked how he knows that the strange animal bears that name his reply will be that it is known to him through the words of the forester and not by analogy or by other means. And hence it may be concluded that the knowledge is derived through the words of the forester, that is by verbal testimony. In such a case, considering another opposite view, the author says, the cognition that one gets is of the form that " this is called a *gavaya* " while the words of the forester were in the form that " a *gavaya* is like a cow " so that such a cognition as mentioned above could not be derived through the words of the forester and such cognition must be considered as a separate means of knowledge known as " upamāna ". Bhāsarvajña rejects this argument saying that we make the convention " this is a cow " with reference to a particular animal and when we have the cognition in the form that " this bears the name cow " we will have to regard that this cognition is not derived through the knowledge of the original convention but through some other means of knowledge. In the same way when the name " cow " is given to another animal of the same species it will require another means of knowledge, since the convention is made with reference to a Particular animal of that species and this will end in 'infinitum regress' which is not advisable. Here the knowledge of the name of the animal '*gavaya*' is derived through the words of the forester by

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the force of convention that the name applies to all the animals resembling cow and hence this is a form of verbal testimony. He also rejects the view that the connection between the word and the object signified by the word is necessary until the object is actually perceived by the individual. He holds that even if there is the absence of the perceptible knowledge of '*gavaya*' when the forester tells him that a gavaya is like a cow, one can very well connect the word and the object signified by that word when one perceives the object.

Gautama accepts only three pramāṇās ?

After establishing that Upamāna is nothing more than verbal testimony, Bhāsarvajña attempts to establish that the sūtrakāra accepted only three pramāṇās. It can be stated undoubtedly that the Sūtrakāra accepted four pramāṇas including upamāna when it is stated that " perception, inference, comparison and verbal testimony are the four pramanas ".[1] But according to Bhāsarvajña, Sūtrakāra has included upamāna under verbal testimony and his mention of upamāna separately is with some deeper motive, that is, the establishment of the vadility of verbal testimony. The argument of Bhāsarvajña, in favour of this view is that the Sūtrakāra has mentioned separately *Dṛstānta* and *hētvābhāsa* even th ugh they are included under *pramāṇa* and *nigrahasthāna* respectively owing to their importance in the śāstra. In the same way he has mentioned upamāna separately due to its prominence in the śāstra even though it is included under verbal testimony.

According to some, verbal testimony is merely corroboratory of the knowledge derived through perception and inference and it is not infallible in itself. It cannot be said that it is of use where perception and inference fail since verbal testimony, presupposes the knowledge of the connection of a word and the object of which connection cannot be established where the object itself is not known either through perception or inference. Ordinarily the knowledge of the object is the cause of convention on a word and the knowledge of this convention on a word is the cause of the knowledge of an object through that word. Here both the knowledge of the object and the knowledge of convention depend upon word which is absurd since it involves mutual dependance. A sentence cannot establish the relation of name and the object signified by that name, since it communicates the knowledge of the relation between the meaning of words signifying well known objects. To refute such a view, Bhāsarvajña, holds that the Sūtrakāra has enumerated upamāna separately by way of illustration which helps the establishment of valid verbal testimony. Even if a '*gavaya*' is unknown to us, it is possible for us to shape a '*gavaya*' in our imagination through the

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1 Nyāyasūtra—1-1-3., Nyāyadarśanam of Gautama, 2nd Edn. Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1985.

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words of the forester and thus establish the relation of the name and the object signified by that name. Therefore it cannot be said that it is hard to conceive of objects that are beyond perception and inference or that verbal testimony is meaningless, if they signify objects.

As to the inquiry whether *upamāna* is valid or not, Bhāsarvajña says that it is valid like presumption and the like and is included under the already accepted three kinds of *pramāṇās*

In the Nyāyasūtra, Gautama has expressed the view that *upamāṇa* is not valid and immediately after it is stated that this view is incorrect.[2] But this, says Bhāsarvajña, does not mean that the Sūtrakāra regards *upamāna* as distinct from other means of valid knowledge. He reiterates his view saying that Gautam has defended ' presumption ' as valid, rejecting the views of opponents and including it under *anumāna*. Similarly, Gautama has refuted the views of those who have included *upamāna* under inference, and established that it is distinct from *anumāna*. Bhāsarvajña, supporting the arguments of Sūtrakāra says that sūtrakāra's objection was only with regard to its inclusion under *anumāna* that he has never rejected its inclusion under *śabda*. The mention of the *pramāṇās* as four in number by the Sūtrakāra was because he wanted to make it clear that these are not five or more pramāṇās. Again the non-assertion of *pramāṇās* as three in number by the Sūtrakāra, is, in the view of Bhāsarvajña, due to the peculiar habit of the Sūtrakāra that in certain places he has taken care to establish his views while in certain places not and he leaves such matters to be guessed by the intelligent students and arrive at their own conclusion after careful examination of all rival views.

At any rate, this argument of Bhāsarvajña cannot be easily justified since his arguments are very weak. For, in the Nyāyasūtra it is stated beyond doubt that there are four pramāṇas. This drawback on Bhāsarvajña's argument is due to his eagerness to bring his treatise in a line with other systems such as the Sāmkhyas and the Jainās. If this theory of Bhāsarvajña was well conceived, he should have got a prominent place in the later logical works but we do not see such a position assigned to him. It would have been better for him to reject *upamāna* out right rather than making a feeable and unconvincing attempt to include it under verbal testimony. He did so in his eagerness to reconcile with the view of Sūtrakāra thereby to ensure the sympathy of the ancient school of logicians.

Arṭhāpatti—a separate pramāṇa ?

Among the Indian philosophical schools, it is the Mīmāmsa and the Vedanta school which alone recognise *arṭhāpatti* (presumption) as an independent

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2 *Ibid.*, 2-1-42, 43.

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source of valid knowledge. According to the Mīmāmsakās the admission of presumption is a necessity when there arises a conflict between two well known facts followed by a need for its confirmation. Accordingly the presumption is defined as the assumption of an unperceived fact apart from which the conflict between two actually perceived or known facts cannot be resolved.

Even though both the schools of Mīmāmsakās accept presumption as a separate means of valid knowledge, they differ from each other in defining its nature and function. According to the Prābhākarās it involves an element of doubt about the truth of two well known facts on account of their mutual conflict whereas Kumarila Bhaṭṭa holds that presumption involves the conflict between two well known facts so that any additional element such as doubt is useless within the structure of this source of valid knowledge.

According to the vēdāntins there is only one fact which is said to be well known, namely, that something presents itself to be inexplicable or stands unexplained and so is in need of explanation. This points to the recognition of presumption as a separate *pramāṇa*, by the performance of which the unexplained becomes explained and this function is nothing more than the framing of an assumption (*kalpana*) which provides the explanation.

Bhāsarvajña, following the other Naiyāyikas includes presumption under inference on the argument that in a presumptive judgement a fact is assumed by means of invariable concomitance. He says that the statement " fatness (in the stock of example pīnō devadattō divā na bhuṇktē) does not arise without taking food at night " is equal to the statement that " if there is eating food at night there arises the quality fatness ", that is, wherever there is fatness, in the absence of eating food at day time, there will be the eating of food at night, which is no doubt, invariable concomitance " and hence it is nothing more than inference of purely negative type. (*kēvalavyatirēkī*).

In the stock example Devadatta was regarded as a solitary case and the *anvayavyāpti* could not be enunciated, for, in such a case there will be no similar instance. Still the Nyāya view holds that even in that case the fact presumed, that is, taking food at night, to reconcile the contradiction between it and not taking food at day time ', could be arrived at by purely negative form of inference. In such a case it is possible to point out many dissimilar instances and hence it can be easily concluded that presumption is inference of purely negative type. It cannot also be argued that it is not inference since it lacks purely positive relation because if such an argument is approved the purely positive inference also will have to be regarded as a distinct form of *pramāṇa* since the purely negative relation cannot be established to exist in a purely positive type of inference.

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In this way Bhāsarvajña establishes that *Arṭhāpatti* is inference since it reveals the knowledge of an object through its invariable concomitance of the word and the object.

Anupalabḍhi not a separate pramāṇa.

The admission of anupalabdhi or abhāva as an independent source of valid knowledge is primarily based on the presumption that it is a separate category, parallel to and co-ordinate with bhāva (existence). This pramāṇa has been admitted by the Vedāntins and a group of Mīmamsakās who define it as that which conveys the idea that just as a positive apprehension of some existent object, through any of the accredited sources such as perception, inference etc., is a way of cognising, so is the non-apprehension of some object which is likewise another way of cognising.

The Prābhākarās, and the Sāmkya-yoga schools do not accept abhāva as a separate category. The Nyāya-vaiśē'ṣikās also reject it though they admit it is an ontological category. They hold that it is the perception which is the source of our knowledge of the non-existence of objects and rejects the necessity of accepting it as a separate pramāṇa. Following the Naiyāyikās, Bhāsarvajña includes abhāva under verbal testimony, inference or perception according to the merit of each case. He states that the knowledge of the absence of an object is derived through sense-perception since such knowledge is a result of the sense organ. When one perceives a jar he also perceives its colour, size, generality etc. The activity of the sense organs gives one the knowledge of the particular spot of the ground and the attributes of the spot. Abhāva also being an attribute of the particular spot concerned, is also realised. Considering the Bhāṭṭa view that the absence of a jar could not be the object of direct perception, since there is no connection between the sense organs and the jar, Bhāsarvajña says that the reason given viz. 'the absence of any relation' is not acceptable to both the parties. Sambandhābhāva does not contradict the Nyāya view and even the Mīmāmsakās have admitted that sabandhābhāva does not prevent the cognition of rūpa. Thus even if there is no relation between the ghaṭarūpa and the eye, it does not prevent the knowledge of ghaṭarūpa, which is acquired through the sense organs. He also rejects the argument that the relation of the subject and the predicate or the qualifier and the qualified is not conceivable in the absence of either contact or inherence saying that such a relation is established through the qualified cognition (viśiṣṭapratyaya). Here, the author explains and justifies the standpoint of the Naiyayikās and in earlier traditions also one can see the tendancy to include this pramāṇa under other pramāṇās, Bhāsarvajña has clearly indicated that these are included under the three accepted by him, in consideration of the merit of each cases.

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Other sources of valid knowledge :

The other sources of cognition accepted by some other schools of philosophy and rejected by Bhāsarvajña are (1) sambhava (possibility), (2) aitīhya (tradition) and (3) ceṣṭā (gesture). Sambhava is regarded as the process of knowing something not directly and immediately but indirectly and mediately on account of its being included in something else which is already known. The Nyāya-Vaiśēṣika, the Sāmkhya-yoga and the Mīmāmsa schools reject this pramāṇa. Bhāsarvajña too rejects it saying that it is not different from inference since it is possible to deduce a smaller number or quantity from a greater or larger one. With regard to Aitīhya it is regarded as a source of knowledge by the Paurāṇikās and is taken to mean a traditional belief or beliefs which have originated from unknown sources and have been handed down from generation to generation. But since the reliability of such statements cannot be ascertained it cannot be accepted as a pramāṇa. Bhāsarvajňa, however, includes it under āgama.

Cēṣṭā is regarded as an independent pramāṇa by the Tāntrikās. They are non-verbal and consist in certain fixed bodily movements and facial expressions having fixed meanings. But Bhāsarvajña says that this does not differ verbal testimony since it is based on conventions and rules made through such texts as Nātyaśāstra and so on which prescribes certain fixed movements and expressions consisting of fixed impressions.

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LOGIC BEHIND POSTULATING INDETERMINATE PERCEPTION

By

BRUNDABAN PATRA*

Gautama, the author of the Nyāya Sūtras, defines perception as a cognition arising out of the sense-object-contact which is (i) inexpressible in words (*avyapades'ya*), (ii) uncontradicted (*avyabhicārin*) and (iii) definite one (*vyavasāyātmaka*).[1] With regard to the interpretation of the words *avyapadeśya* and *vyavasāyātmaka* in NS. 1/1/4 efforts have been made by Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, Vācaspatimiśra and Udayana to understand it.

Vātsyāyana interprets the term *avyapadeśya* on NS. 1/1/4 in the following manner. Every cognition of an object resulting from sense-object-contact is denoted by the words like colour, taste etc. These words are names of objects. A cognition denoted by these words is expressed as 'One cognises colour' or 'One cognises taste'. Being denoted by words the cognition is likely to be considered as produced by verbal testimony. Therefore, in order to remove the possibility, the term *avyapadeśya* (non-verbal) has been used in the sūtra.[2]

Vātsyāyana further says that the word is not used (as in the case of verbal-cognition) at the time of the perceptual cognition, but it is used only at the time of communication of that cognition.[3] Śrīdhara also defines the term *avyapadeśya* as a knowledge which is not produced by words.[4] Uddyotakara has left out this particular portion of the interpretation of the sūtra without commenting upon it. It is Vācaspatimiśra who introduced the distinciton of *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka* in the interpretation of NS. 1/1/4. Actually speaking, Diṅnāga, the noted Buddhist logician of the 5th century A.D. for the first time explicitly made a clear-cut distinction between *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka* in Indian logic and philosophy.

Vācaspatimiśra who is later than Diṅnāga, thought it fit to bring that distinction within the frame-work of Gautama's definition of perception and incorporated them in Nyāya system. According to him the perception without having a qualifier-qualificand type of relation is *avyapadeśya*.[5] He divides the sūtra of Gautama into two parts. One part of the sūtra viz, *indriyārtha-sannikarṣotpannam jñānam avyabhicāri* (the uncontradicted knowledge produced by sense-object-contact) is the definition of perception and the two words *avyapadeśya* and

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vyavasāyātmaka hint at two varieties of perception. Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara are not aware of the distinction, Vācaspatimiśra remarks on their silence ! the authors of the *Bhaṣya* and *Vārttika* have not given this interpretation because it is so clear that the students of Nyāya themselves would understand it.[6] Following the path of his teacher Trilocana, Vācaspati explained these two words in the above way.[7]

Jayanta, the poet-Naiyāyika has given so many alternative explanations of the term *vyapadeśya* in his *Nyāyamañjarī*. But none of the interpretations agrees with that of Vācaspatimiśra. According to Jayanta, the main point of difference between *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka* is that in the former there is no word element and that is therefore vague and indefinite.[8]

Diṅnāga and Kumārila give importance on the absence of the word element in the *nirvikalpaka*. Udayana also states that at the *nirvikalpaka* stage, only the individual i.e. the substratum of the universal is apprehended e.g. a cow is known without the apprehension of cowness etc.[9]

In Vācaspati and Śrīdhara, we find the concept of *nirvikalpaka* in a little developed form. They held the view that at the *nirvikalpaka* stage, the individual as well as its universal both are perceived but they are not related as qualified and qualifier.[10] But the fact is that both of them have not brought out the idea so definitely as is done by the Navya-Naiyāyikas. That is why it is decided here to discuss the problem from the Navya-Naiyāyika's point of view. The later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writers including the Navya-Naiyāyikas unanimously accepted *nirvikalpaka* perception.

We find that Śaśadhara, a pre-Gaṅgeśa Navya-Nyāya writer has devoted a particular chapter on *nirvikalpaka* perception in his "*Nyāya siddhāntadīpa*" to prove the logical necessity of accepting *nirvikalpaka* variety of perception. Quoting different views of the opponents on this issue he has analysed those arguments in details and tried to refute them one by one and finally he proves his own stand for postulating *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*.

To start with the argument proper one must bear in mind the exact nature of indeterminate perception. According to Navya-Nyāya, every cognition has a particular structure. For example, a man who has the knowledge of a pot, can express it as 'this is a pot'. This knowledge has a structure of qualificand (*Viśeṣya*) and qualifier (*Viśeṣaṇa*) type. Here in the knowledge 'this is a pot' pot is the qualificand and potness is the qualifier.

The qualifier is cognised as belonging to the qualificand and the qualificand is cognised as having its qualifier. Further there must be a relation between the qualificand and the qualifier. Unless and untill these two are related we will not be able to get any qualified knowledge. Thus, a qualified knowledge is that the qualificand of which is qualified by its qualifier. Again it is a fact that in the

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process of cognition, the knowledge of the qualifier precedes the knowledge of the qualified. The knowledge 'this is a pot' is a qualified knowledge (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*) or *savikalpakajñāna*. In other words, it is a cognition which reveals the structure of qualifier-qualificand type and it is known as *savikalpaka jñāna*. But the *nirvikalpaka* perception on the otherhand is a perceptual cognition which does not reflect the structure of qualifier-qualificand type although all the elements are present in that cognition. Therefore, Navya-Naiyāyikas declare the knowledge of the qualifier is nothing but *nirvikalpakajñāna* only.

The entire discussion is cited here in the form of a dialogue between the proponent and the opponent in the following manner.

Objection :

The opponent starts the argument with the opinion that if one considers *nirvikalpaka* as a cognition separate from *savikalpaka* then it must be accepted as a cognition first. This statement echoes with the doubt whether the state of being a cognition exists in the cognition which does not exhibit the structure of a qualifier and qualificand type.

In addition to that the opponent further raises another point i.e. the state of being a cognition must have the same locus as that of the state of being a cognition which does not reveal the structure of qualifier and qualificand type.

Reply :

In order to clarify the doubt of the opponent, the proponent (*siddhāntin*) here puts forward an argument with regard to *nirvikalpaka* through an inference. The first *savikalpaka* knowledge immediately after awakening is produced by the cognition of the qualifier which is produced because it is a cognition which shows the structure of qualifier and qualificand type and which is produced like the knowledge of *daṇḍī puruṣa* (man holding the stick).[11] Here the *aprakārajñāna* does not qualify the *jāgarādya savikalpakajñāna* rather it qualifies the knowledge immediately preceeding the *jāgarādya savikalpakajñāna* after awakening. If this *aprakārakajñāna* is considered as having the knowledge of qualifier and qualificand type, it may amount to contradict the *Pakṣa* which is a qualified knowlege *viśiṣṭajñāna*.

Objection :

Again the opponent points out that it is a case of establishing something which is already established, because the *jāgarādya savikalpakajñāna* can be generated by the impressions left behind by the qualified experience arising prior to deep sleep which has the qualifier as its object. It is quite acceptable that the knowledge of qualifier causes the qualified knowledge through the impressions, as a distance experience causes the remembrance through the impression.[12] *Viśiṣṭajñāna* has already been produced prior to deep sleep. Again after awaken-

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ing if one establishes the *jāgarādyajñāna* through *saṁskāra*, then in this cases it will lead to the fallacy of *siddhasādhana*.

Reply :

The *siddhāntin* in order to meet the challenge of the opponent says, it is the rule that a qualified experience is always preceded by a knowledge of qualifier. If this is true, it is not a case of *siddhasādhana* because the first qualified experience is the subject here.

Objection :

The opponent says that there is no reason to enforce a rule that the qualified experience must be preceded by the knowledge of a qualifier. Further he points out that it is not an established fact that the first knowledge after awakening is an experience. So one can take it as a remembrance. In that case there is no difficulty in explaining that first knowledge with the help of any distant knowledge before deep sleep. So there is no need of postulating *nirvikalpaka* perception.

Again it is not right to establish *nirvikalpaka* (the first knowledge after deep sleep) as *pakṣa* in which the pot is qualified by the qualifier which is produced just now. Since the colours are the qualifiers here and are known before in a general way, there is no need of *nirvikalpaka* to explain *savikalpaka*.

Reply :

Here the proponent brings another fact to the notice of the opponent that even ordinary people make reference to the *nirvikalpaka* cognition. So this is a direct proof for existence of *nirvikalpaka* variety of perception.

Objection :

The opponent argues that people's usage cannot be taken as the base because that usage of the people refers to the knowledge, the object of which has not appeared distinctly.

The opponent also here tries to establish *nirvikalpaka* through an inference. The fact is whether *jñānatva* and *niṣprakāratva* reside in one locus or not. But the inference suffers from the fallacy of *vyāpyatvāsiddha*.[13]

Reply :

Now the proponent comes forward to answer the above objection of the opponent. Let the first knowledge after awakening from sleep be remembrance or experience, it does not matter. In either of the cases *nirvikalpaka* knowledge can be obtained. In the case of remembrance, the arousing factor of impression which generates remembrance is the auxiliary cause. Since such an arousing factor is a cognition, this cognition can be taken as the *nirvikalpakajñāna* only. Similarly in the case of an experience, though the qualified knowledge prior to deep sleep is considered as the producer (of the first knowledge) through

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impression, still it is necessary to postulate *nirvikalpaka* as the arousing factor of impression. So here *nirvikalpaka* playsan intermediary role between the impression and the resultant knowledge (*jāgarādyajñāna*).

Again the *siddhāntin* says that it is proper to establish *nirvikalpaka* making *savikalpaka* (the first knowledge after awakening) as *pakṣa* in which the object (pot) is qualified by the qualifier which is produced just now.

Objection :

The opponent still maintains that there is no need of *nirvikalpakajñāna* since it is possible to have the knowledge of qualifier, say colour, through the super-natural relation of universal.

Reply :

The *siddhāntin* refutes it by saying that it cannot be possible to have the knowledge of a particular colour even though one has the knowledge of colour in general. In the case of *nirvikalpaka* this contingency does not arise.

Objection :

The opponent raises a point here how then the inherence and absence are revealed by *savikalpaka* only. The pot has colour by the relation of *samavāya*. In this knowledge of *savikalpaka*, *samavāya* also is the qualifier. There is no pot on the ground, in this case absence also becomes the qualifier and one has to postulate *nirvikalpaka* as the knowledge of the qualifier. Here colourness etc., will be the object of *nirvikalpaka* but not *samavāya* and *abhāva*.

It cannot be argued that since it is the case that the appearance of universal goes along with that of the individual, will also appear. Similarly, there will arise the contingency that *samavāya* will also appear in *nirvikalpaka*.

Here the opponent resorts to an inference which is as follows : *Samavāya* and *abhāva* are the objects of *nirvikalpaka*, because these are the objects of our direct perceptions like colour etc.[14]

Reply :

The *siddhāntin* answers that the view of the opponent is not true. The universals etc. are the object of *nirvikalpaka*. Once the universal is known, it produces the knowledge in which the *samavāya* appears as *viśeṣya* qualified by that universal. After this, the knowledges like ' this is colour ', ' this is pot ', the pot has colour etc. appear. Similar is the case with *abhāva*.

Without the delimitor of contactness (*saṁyogatva*) contact cannot appear in the knowledge. Since contactness is known by *nirvikalpaka* and the knowledge of contact arises late, contactness etc. are also revealed by *nirvikalpaka*.

Objection :

Others hold the view that *saṁyoga* etc. are known only by *savikalpaka*. Some others are of the opinion that due to the *nirvikalpaka* of *saṁyogatva*, the

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qualified knowledge will not become late, because we do not require all the qualifiers to produce a qualified knowledge. If at all we do so, it will result in to cumbersomeness.

Others strive to prove *samavāya* etc. as being the object of *nirvikalpaka* on the basis of Udayanācārya's statement in his NKU.[15]

Furthermore the opponent outright rejects the view of the proponent that it is not proper to argue that the qualified knowledge is produced by the knowledge of the qualifier, since it lacks proper reasoning. For example, there is no proof that in the case of *daṇḍī puruṣa* (man holding the stick), first of all there arises the knowledge of man qualified by the stick.[16]

One cannot make such a statement that a qualifier is the object of the resultant knowledge and at the same time is treated as the cause of the knowledge.[17] Because it is observed that in the case of inferential knowledge the qualifier in the form of *vyāpya* and *vyāpakatva* etc. is considered as the cause. If one postulates that knowledge of qualifier as being the cause of the qualified knowledge, the contingency of postulating the knowledge of qualificand as the producer of the qualified knowledge will also arise. Because in the inferential cognition, the subject ' mountain ' is treated as the knowledge of the qualificand and it causes the inferential cognition.

Reply :

After rejecting all the views raised against him by the opponent, the *siddhāntin* now concludes the argument. He remarks at the end that from our day-to-day experience, it is well observed that the knowledge of *daṇḍī puruṣa* does not arise unless one has the knowledge of the stick (*daṇḍa*). Hence the knowledge of the qualifier (*daṇḍa*) is a minimum necessity to have the qualified knowledge (*daṇḍī puruṣa*).

Thus, by the help of *anvaya* and *vyatireka*, it is ascertained that the knowledge of the qualifier is the cause of the qualified knowledge.[18] There is no doubt of it. So an indeterminate knowledge is required to be postulated as the knowledge of the qualifier.

Thus from the discussion of the above arguments I conclude my observation with the following remarks :

(i) Diṅnāga, the pioneer Buddhist logician clearly introduced the distinction between *savikalpaka* and *nirvikalpaka* for the first time in Indian logic and philosophy.

(ii) Very likely, Vācaspatimiśra got the idea of *nirvikalpaka* from his teacher Trilocana who might have got it from *Kumārila* and Diṅnāga.

(iii) Though the Nyāya-Vaisesika writers have achieved a lot in interpreting the concept of *nirvikalpaka* still they have not done as clearly as the Navya-Naiyayika Śaśadhara.

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(iv) Śaśadhara has taken resort to the inference to prove the validity of *nirvikalpaka* perception. He holds the view that the knowledge of the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) is nothing but *nirvikalpaka* which is very much essential to generate the qualified cognition (*Viśiṣṭajñāna*).

Notes and References

1 *Indriyārtha-sannikarsotpannam-jñānamavyapadeśyamavyabhicāri Vyavasāyātmakam pratyakṣam.*, *Nyāyadarśanam* of Gautama with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, Uddyotakara's *Vārttika*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā*, and Viśvanātha's Vṛtti, 2nd edn., Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1985, p. 197.

2 *Tatredam indriyārtha sannikarṣāt utpannam arthjñanam rūpam iti vā, rasa ityevam vā bhavati, rūparasaśabdśca viṣayanāmadheyam tena vyapadiśyate jñānam rūpamiti jānite, rasa iti jānite. Nāmadheyaśabdena vyapadiśyamānam sat śabdam prasajyate ata āha avyapadeśyamiti*, Ibid., p. 198.

3 *Tadevam arthajñānakāle sa na samākhya śabdo vyāpriyate, vyavahārakāle tu vyāpriyate*, Ibid., p. 198.

4 *Na vyapadeśyamavyapadeśyaṁ śabdā -janyaṁ yad vijñānaṁ jāyate tat pratyakṣaṁ pramāṇam, Nyāya Kandalī* (NK), Edited by Pt. Durgādhara Jhā, Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, 1977, p. 474.

5 *Avidyamānaṁ vyapadeśyaṁ yasmiṁstadavyapadeśyam jātyādisvarupāvagāhi, na tu jātyādināṁ mitho viśeṣaṇaviśeṣya bhāvāvagāheti yāvat.*, See *Nyāya darśanam*, p. 220.

6 *Tadetad atisphuṭatvāt śiṣyairgamyata* eveti *bhāṣya vārttikakārābhyām* avyākhyātam,, Ibid., p. 226.

7 *Trilocana gurunnita mārgānugamanonmukhaiḥ yathā-mānam yathā vastu vyākhyātam idam idṛśa*, Ibid., p. 226.

8 *Yat prāthamākṣa-sannipāta samaye eva jñānam anullikhitaśabdakam śa dānusmaraṇe hetubhūtam upajāyate tad avikalpam pratyakṣam, Nyāya Mañjarī*, Vol. 1, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, 1969, p. 209.

9 *Gotvādi apratitau api tad āśrayasyapratiteḥ, Kiraṇāvali*, Edited by M. M. Vindyesvari Prasad Dvivedi, Banaras, 1919, p. 276.

10 *Kintu sāmānyam viśeṣaṁ cobhayamapi gṛṇhāti, yadi paramidam samanyamayaṁ viśeṣa ityevaṁ vivicya na pratyeti, vastvantarānusandhānavirahāt*, NK., p. 446.

11 *Jāgarādyasavikalpakaṁ janyaviśeṣaṇajñanajanyaṁ janyaviśiṣṭajñānatvāt. Daṇḍī puruṣa iti jñānavaditi, Nyāya Siddhānta Dīpa* (NSD) of *Śaśadhara* with *Ṭippana* by Guṇaratnasūri, 1st edn. Edited by B. K. Matilal, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1976, p. 45.

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12 *Nanu suṣuptiprākkālīnasavikalpakenaiva siddha-sādhanam. Saṁskāra-dvāra'pī viśeṣaṇajñānasya viśiṣṭajñānajanakatvaṁ iṣṭameva. Yathā vyavahitasyā-nubhavasya smaraṇaṁ prati*, Ibid., p. 45.

13 *Na ca jñānatvaṁ niṣprakārakatvasamānādhikaraṇaṁ sakalajñānavṛttitvāt sattāvaditi vācyam*, Ibid., *p.* 45.

14 *Samavāyābhā'vau nirvikalpakaviṣayau asmadātdiṣākṣātkāraviṣayatvāt. Rūpādivat*, Ibid., p. 47.

15 *Avacchedagrahadhrauvyādadhrauvye siddhasādhanāt*, 3/22, *Nyāya Kusumañjalī* of Udayanācārya, Edited with 'The Kusumanjali Parimal' Hindi commentary by Acharya Vishveswar Siddhanta Shiromani, The Chowkhamba Vidyabhawan, Varanasi, 2nd edn. 1978, p. 151.

16 *Daṇḍī puruṣa ityatra prathamaṁ daṇḍajñānamanantaram tadviśiṣṭapuruṣa-jñānam ityatra na kiñcit pramāṇam*, NSD, p. 48.

17 *Na ca Kāraṇibhūtajñānaviṣayatve sati kāryibhūtajñānaviṣayatvam viśeṣa-ṇatvamiti vācyam, vaiparityasyāpi suvacatvāditi*, Ibid., p. 48.

18 *Agrahitadaṇḍasya hi daṇḍī puruṣa iti pratyayānudayadarśanena anvaya-vyatirekābhyāmeva viśeṣaṇajñānasya viśiṣṭajñānakāraṇatvāvadhāraṇāditi saṁkṣepaḥ*, Ibid., p. 48.

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PYRO-TECHNOLOGICAL AND OTHER GEO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES IN THE LATERITE OF THE MOHAR RIVERBED IN KAPADVANJ, KHEDA DIST. GUJARAT

By

P. K. PATEL & S. I. VAID*

Introduction :

Kapadvanj, a taluka headquarters in the Kheda district, is located on a low, rolling mound of Palaeocene laterite derived from the weathering of Cretaceous-Eocene Deccan Trap basalts. These laterites are currently exploited for their bauxite and bentonite content.

The present study has shown that this laterite outcrop was extensively exploited in the past for building purposes, for extraction of iron, in the cloth industry as well as for carving of religious artefacts.

Significantly, the name Kapadvanj is derived from the Sanskrit word '*Karpaṭa Vāṇijya*', that signifies a centre of textile trade.[1] Some excavations on the laterite exposure in the Mohar river, indicate that they might have been used as vats for the heating of cloth.

Large heaps of iron slag are found lying on the banks of the Mohar river, just outside Kapadvanj. A comparision of the chemical analysis of the laterite and the iron slag indicates that the iron industry of Kapadvanj was based on laterite as the raw material. This turned a commercial centre into an industrial one.

In this paper the preliminary results of the geo-archaeological studies of the site are presented.

Local stratigraphy (Fig. 1) :

Extensive field work and mapping by the authors have revealed the following stratigraphic succession :

- Alluvium.....
- Black soil.....

Recent to Sub-Recent

.....Unconformity.....

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1 Mehta, R. N. : Personal Communication during field visit; 1987..

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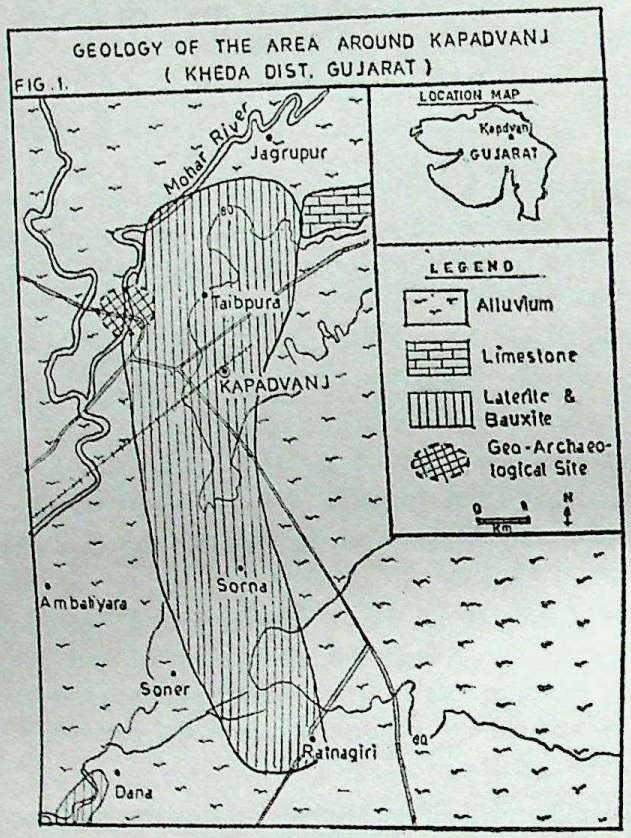
Laterite .. .. Palaeocene

.... Unconformity .. ..

Deccan Trap Basalt ... . Cretaceous-Eocene



Deccan Trap Basalt (*Cretaceous-Eocene*)

Large outcrops of basalt are found in NE of Kapadvanj in the Mohar river. The rock is usually brown to reddish-yellow in colour due to superficial weathering and is usually massive in nature. Below this yellowish-red skin, the basalt is grey to black in colour. At places, joints are seen along which weathering has taken place. Calcite veins are seen in-filling these joints at some places.

Laterite (*Palaeocene age*)

The Palaeocene formation in this area is generally considered to be formed by the insitu weathering of the Deccan Trap basalts. The occurrence is in the form of a narrow elongated belt along the Tertiary edge of the basalts. It stretches from Kapadvanj to Dakor in a N-S direction.

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The topmost zone of reddish-brown laterite and fawnish coloured laterite-bauxite is underlain gradually by a zone of saprolite denoted by a pale-coloured clay of no commercial value. Deposits of bentonite are found south and south-east of Kapadvanj in the Mohar and Kharwa rivers respectively. The occurrence is in the form of discontinuous pockets. Alternating green and yellow bonding is seen. All the bentonite deposits are normally overlain by a 2.5m. to 5m. thick overburden of soil and river sand.

The whole town of Kapadvanj is resting on a very thick and massive laterite exposure. This uniform formation has provided an excellent base for the Kund in its centre.

Recent to Sub-Recent Formations :

This is represented by two distinct types of soils prevalent here viz. black sticky soil and yellowish sandy alluvium.

Geo-Archaeological Relics in Kapadvanj :

Geo-archaeological relics are present in the Mohar river-bed to the west of Kapadvanj where there is a 1/2 km. long laterite outcrop. This laterite outcrop contains relics which point towards the presence of 3 types of industries in the past. Viz. 1. cloth industry (as is evident from the name '*Karpaṭa Vāṇijya*') 2. Laterite quarrying for use as local construction material, and 3. Iron smelting industry. Along with these, some religious relics are also observed.

1. *Relics of Cloth Industry*

As mentioned earlier, Kapadvanj was a cloth-trading centre in the past and hence its name. It is natural that with trading there must have been other ancillary cloth processing activities like bleaching, dyeling, washing etc. For bleaching and washing, water and a reasonably high temperature are prerequisites. To fulfil these two criteria, washermen in the past built their furnaces in the river-bed. These are circular clay-lined depressions with a diameter of 1.2 m. (Plate 1 and 2). In their centre, circular cavities about 33 cm. in diameter and 20 cm. deep are observed. The surface is completely smooth and shows signs of baking at a moderately high temperature. No signs of intense heating are seen. Remains of charcoal or any other fuel are not seen, most probably because they must have been washed away by the river-water. The most striking feature of these furnace-relics is that, all of them are located on one side of the river, especially towards Kapadvanj and not in the centre or on the opposite bank.

2. *Relics of Laterite Quarrying*

This river-bed exposure of laterite was industrially highly significant as a laterite quarrying zone. Remains of systematic open cast quarrying for laterite are seen in abundance.

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As stated earlier, laterite is a weathering derivative of Deccan trap basalts. The usual occurrence of these basalts is in the form of flows of varying thickness. When these basalts are weathered insitu, the resulting laterite would retain the thickness of the flow if not the other structures and textures of basalt. Builders in the past exploited this natural property of laterite to extract dimensioned material for architectural purposes. This would enable them to extract blocks of uniform thickness which would then require only minimal dressing and cutting. The principal quarrying practice was by the wedgemethod. Evidences of this systematic mining are evident in the form of wedge-holes, which were made to separate the blocks from the parent-mass. Further, large flattened surfaces are seen from where the overlying rock-mass was removed (Plate 3). That the builders in the past had knowledge of the properties of rocks, is evident from the fact that the overlying weathered and broken overburden of laterite had been removed to reach down to the fresh rock (Plate 4).

The wedge-method then in vogue, would produce blocks of uniform size which would then be dressed (ashlars). In the centre of old Kapadvanj, there is a *Kuṇḍa Vāva* (Plate 5). The most significant feature of this structure is that ashlars of laterite have been used in its construction (Plate 6). While laterite-generally is not a very common building-stone, here excellent use has been made of it. At regular intervals religious carvings have been made on it (Plate 7).

Further, rough-shaped rubble of laterite has been used extensively in the construction of the old fort-wall fringing Kapadvanj (Plate 8).

All in all, this multifaced use of laterite suggests that the builders in the past had a profound knowledge of the natural properties of rock masses which enabled them to make use of laterite in various architectural structures. Extensive use of laterite as rubble and uncoursed masonry blocks is common where there are large exposures eg. Tamilnadu, Kerala (in south India), but the use of it as ashlars and the associated carvings in Kapadvanj, where there is only a small exposure, makes this quite significant and unique.

3. *Relics of Iron Smelting Industry*

Ever since Alexander the Great invaded the country in 326 B.C., India has been renowned for the quality of its iron (Hegde, 1973).[2] But how this iron was produced is a subject on which there is very little geo-archaeological literature. The excavation of an early Historic iron smelting site by Mehta and Hegde (in Hegde, 1973) at Dhatwa in the Tapi valley in Surat district of Gujarat, had shed a ray of light on the problem. Evidences of a small-scale iron smelting industry in the form of iron objects, heaps of iron tap slag and pieces of iron ore below

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2 Hegde, K. T. M. : "*A model for understanding ancient Indian iron metallurgy*". Man, Vol. 8, No. 3, Sept. 1973.

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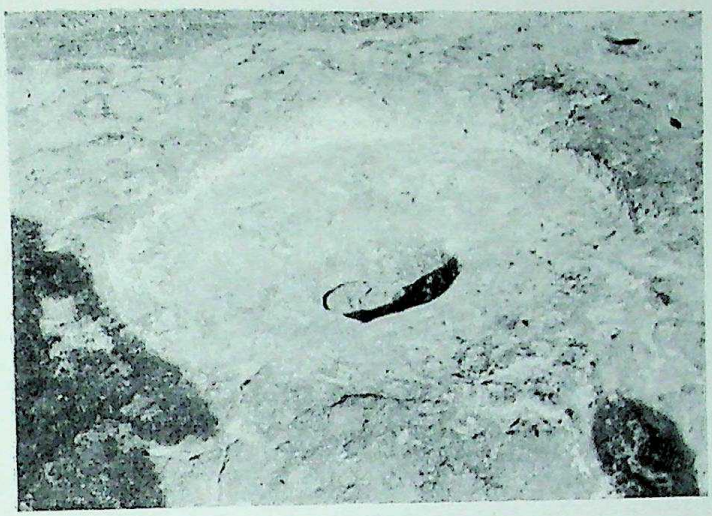

Plate : 1
Clay-lined circular depressions with central cavities showing signs of baking at moderate temperatures.

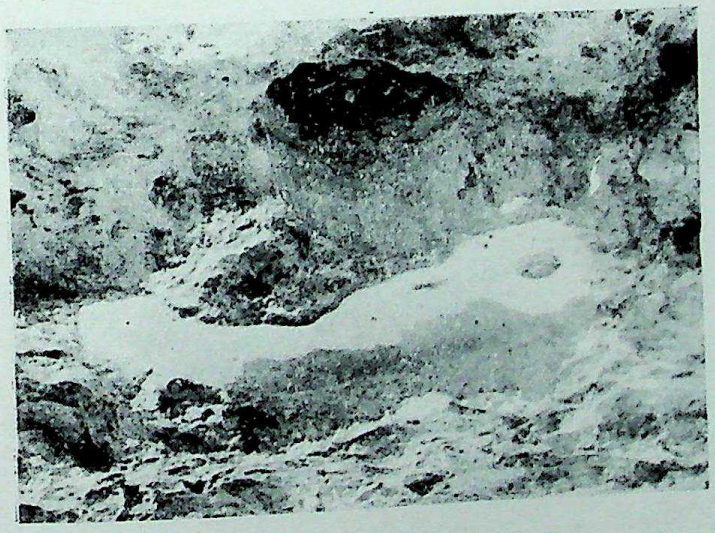

Plate : 2
Clay-lined circular depressions with central cavities showing signs of baking at moderate temperatures.

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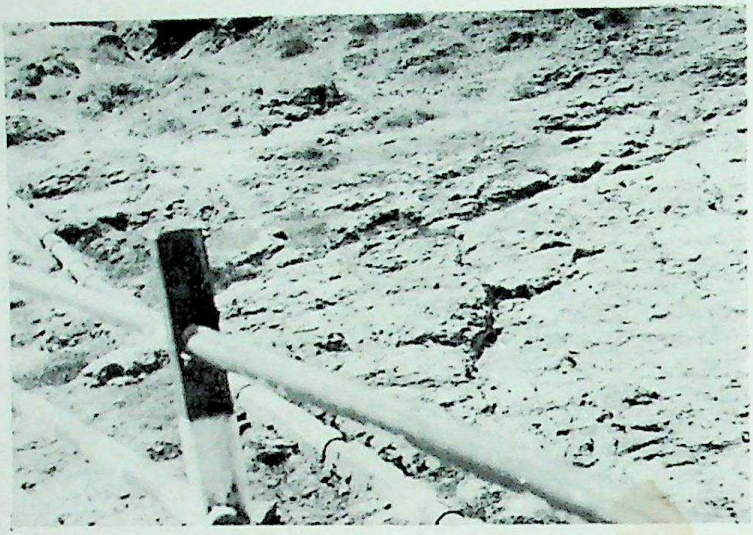

Plate : 3
Large flattened surfaces indicative of large scale stripping of laterite for building purposes.

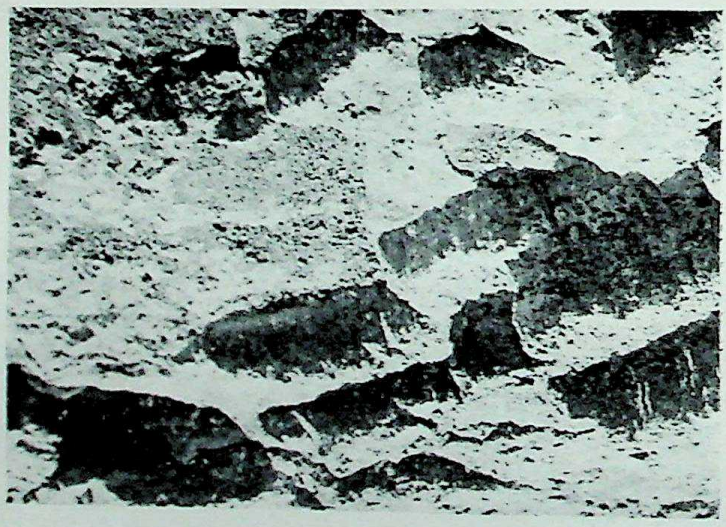

Plate : 4
Section of laterite in the Mohar river-bed showing the upper weathered and broken surface with an underling zone of fresh rock.

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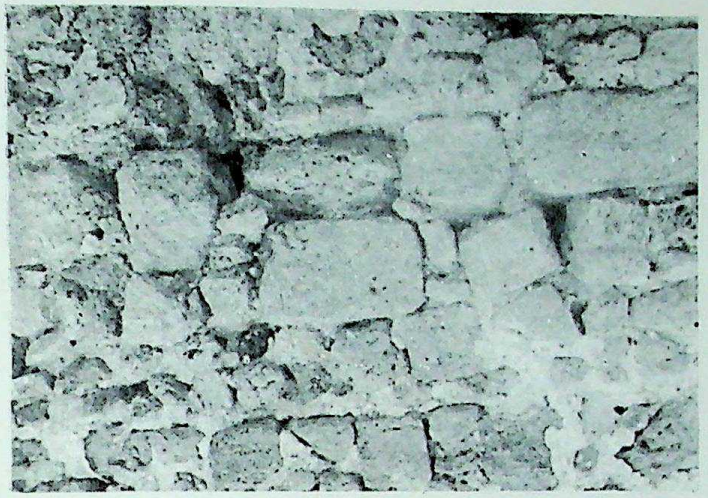

Plate : 8
Laterite rubble used in the construction of the old fort-wall fringing Kapadvanj town.

Plate : 9
Portion of one of the large slag heaps lying on the bank of the Mohar river outside Kapadvanj

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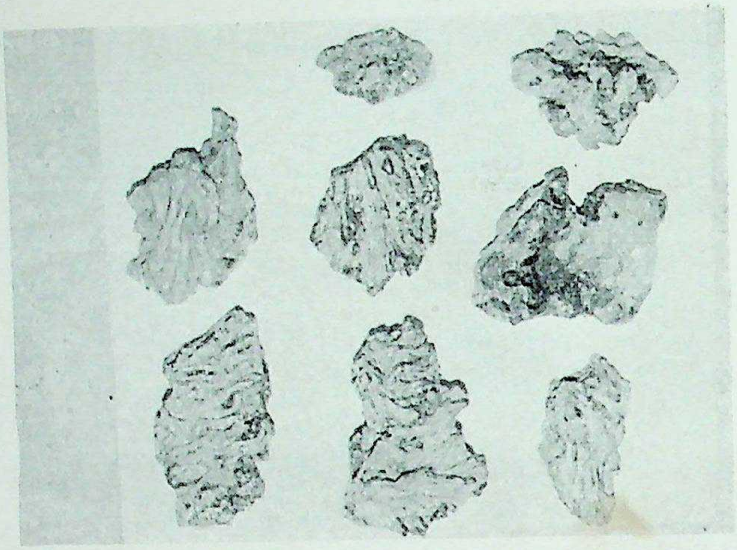

Plate : 10
Common tap slags from the large heaps on the bank of the Mohar river.

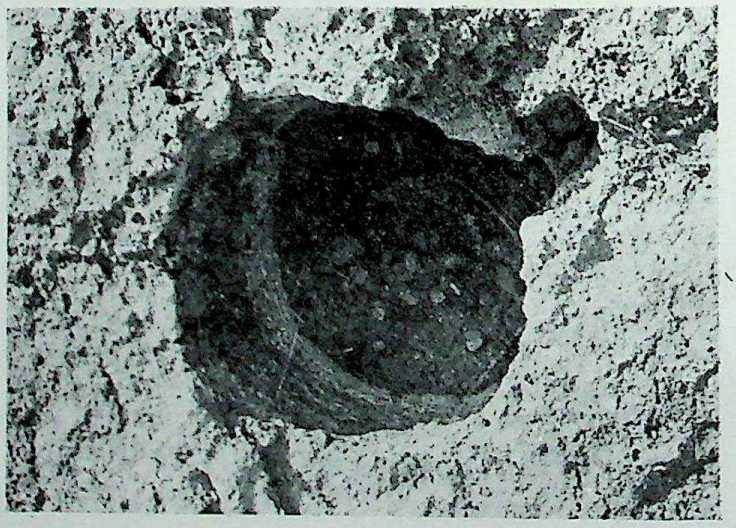

Plate : 11
Small furnace with a tuyere found carved insitu in the laterite outcrop in the Mohar river-bed.

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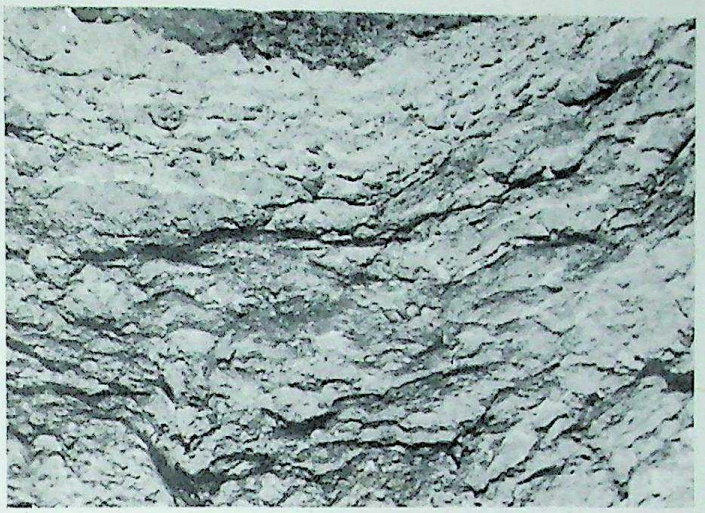

Plate : 12
Close-up of the inside portion of the above furnace showing slag adhering to the surface.

Plate : 13
Remains of Ākāśa Liṅgas found carved insitu in the laterite exposure of the Mohar river near the furnace, mentioned earlier.

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and above the surface had been uncovered. But no evidences of furnaces were found. The quantity of slag heaps was of the order of several thousand quintals indicating that this ancient iron-smelting industry was a small scale one, which probably continued over a period of three to four centuries (Hegde, 1973).[3] The ore used here was laterite of Eocene age.

In contrast to the above occurrence, the site at Kapadvanj has large heaps of tap-slags running into several thousands of tons and also has the remains of a furnace with a tuyere which is in contrast to other sites in India where no furnace remains have been found (Allchin, 1954, Banerjee, 1965).[4]

The large slag-heaps (Plate 9) are found on the east bank of the Mohar river adjoining Kapadvanj town (Fig. 1). The heaps have a nominal soil and grass-cover indicating that they are not recent in age. Presently, large-scale smelting operations are not seen in the vicinity, leading to the conclusion that the slag-heaps and the associated smelting operations belonged to the past.

As stated earlier, a majority of the slag in the heaps is of the tap type with a cylindrical and elongated tubular structure (Plate 10). A small furnace with a tuyere is also found in the Mohar river-bed (Plate 11). Heating must have been sufficient enough to form a slag which is found adhering the inside of this furnace (Plate 12). This furnace is a circular cavity about 22 cm. in diameter and about 20 cm. deep. It is opined that this small furnace could have only been used in the roasting of the ore which in this case is laterite. It is illogical to think of large-scale smelting operations in the river-bed where in at least 2-3 months of the year there would be water. Hence, the mined ore from the river-bed must have been taken to old Kapadvanj, adjacent to the slag heaps where the smelting must have been done. This location coincides with the present day residences of the local iron-smiths. From the size of the slag-heaps it can be gauged that the smelting operations in the past must have been of a medium to large-scale.

In order to arrive at an exact picture of the iron smelting operations at Kapadvanj, the following points have to be taken into consideration :—

(a) Source and composition of the ore
(b) Source of fuel
(c) Ore preparation
(d) Composition of the slag
(e) Methodology of extraction and structure of the furnaces used.

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3 *Ibid.*

4 Allchin, F. R. : *The Development of early cultures in the Raichur district of Hydrabad*". Thesis, University of London, 1954.

Benerjee, N. R. : *Iron age in India*, Delhi, 1965.

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(a) Source and composition of the ore :

In the past, the location of an iron smelting operations was restricted, and was dependent upon two points (i) the proximity of the ore deposits (ii) the availability of fuel locally, together with knowledge of smelting, (Hegde 1973).[5] As long distance transportation of fuel or ore would have been difficult or beyond the capacities of the then people, it is obvious that the present site satisfied the pre-requisites of the operation. Ore in the form of laterite consisting of the minerals limonite and hematite, is present in the river-bed as a sheet exposure where evidences of ore mining are seen.

The average chemical analysis of the laterite is as follows : (in percent)

TABLE I

SiO_2	Fe_2O_3	Al_2O_3	CaO	MgO	L.O.I.
10.48	56.27	15.75	0.67	0.55	16.28

Petrographic analysis reveals that the main iron minerals present in laterite are hematite and limonite.

(b) Source of fuel :

In Kapadvanj, wood charcoal must have been used as fuel for the iron extraction operations as there are no sources of coal close to the site. Wood, by itself is unsuitable for smelting as it contains too much oxygen and hence does not make a good reducing fuel.

Present day Kapadvanj can boast of nearly 25-30 timber marts, attributable to the thick forest cover in this region. Hence, it can be discerned that in the past also, fuel in the form of wood from which charcoal could be got was freely available locally.

(c) Ore Preparation :

The chemical analysis reveals that there is considerable loss on ignition indicating that limonite must be the dominant mineral present. This would require the ore to be roasted, so that much of the water-content is expelled together with carbon dioxide and the other volatile components of the ore. Roasting the ore therefore increases its iron oxide content weight per weight and renders it more porous, fragile and hence easier to crush and more suitable for reduction in the furnace.

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5 *op. cit.*

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This must have been done in the furnace with the tuyere found in the river-bed (Plate 11).

(d) Composition of the Slag :

The chemical analysis of the slag is as follows :—(in percent)

SiO_2	Fe_2O_3	Al_2O_3	CaO	MgO	L.O.I.
22.82	62.47	10.02	0.83	0.49	3.37

The above data indicates that much of the iron in the ore was lost in the slag. Such a high wastage of iron in the slag indicates :—(i) that the technique of smelting was rudimentary (ii) that it was carried out at the minimum temperature of reduction, viz, at about 1,200° to 1,250°C, and (iii) that the smelting charge was not fluxed.

Petrographic analysis of the slag shows that it is mostly composed of the compound fayalite - $2FeO\ SiO_2$ which has a melting point of 1,170° and can absorb small amounts of MnO, MgO, Al_2O_3, and FeO which do not lower or raise its melting point by more than 50°C.

(e) Methodology of extraction and structure of the furnace used :—

Except for the small furnace with the tuyeres opening seen in the Mohar river-bed, no other remnants are seen. In the absence of any direct evidence, the cylindrical and elongated tubular shape of the slag throws light on the type of the furnace which must have been used then. This peculiar shaped slag is indicative of a slag tapping furnace. Further, the fayalite composition of the slag and the high wastage of iron through it, all suggest that the iron ore was smelted directly at the minimum slag tapping temperature—at about 1200° to 1250°.

The main principle in iron smelting is the reduction of the metal oxide with carbon monoxide ;—

$$Fe_2O_3 + 3CO_2 \text{———————} 3F_e^{+} + 3CO_2$$

The temperature of 1250°C is inadequate for efficient smelting of iron. This requires much higher temperature and the reduction of iron ore requires a strong reducing environment.

The analysis of the use of laterites in the production of iron in Kapadvanj, suggests the presence of a medium scale, batch producing system of Indian metallurgists. It is significant to note that the ore was mined from the river-bed and smelted in old Kapadvanj town. The slag and other wastes of the industry were dumped outside the city-walls on the banks of the Mohar river.

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The antiquity of the above activity raises interesting ideas. The relics of the ceramics, plain and burnished, black as well as red and the glazed wares, found along with the slag material at a certain depth from the surface near the slag heaps, point towards the fact that 'Kapadvanj' was an active iron-producing centre at least from the 15th/16th centuries A.D.

It was located on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—Pratihāra boundary and later on the Parmar-solanki, Idar-Ahmedabad border. This location might have given it strategic importance and it is possible that the local supply of iron-ore might have given it the necessary metal like the Katodia works near Champaner (Mehta, 1987).[6]

In Gujarat, as in other parts of our country, iron-smelting is known from the first millenium B.C. In Shamlaji (N. Gujarat), the iron industry is known at least from the early centuries of the first millenium A.D. (Mehta, 1987).[7] From this period onwards, the industry existed in different areas. One of the source ore, laterite, was also exploited, but the remains of insitu furnaces are rare.

4. *Religious Relics :*

At a number of places in the Mohar river-bed, remains of *Ākāśa Liṅga* (*Śiva Liṅga* open to sky) of Śaiva-Worship are seen. There are two types of *piṭhas* (i) Circular (ii) rectangular.

Due to their location in the river-bed the *śiva-Liṅgas* are mostly destroyed possibly due to river action. However, some man-made destruction cannot be ruled out. These *Śiva-Liṅgas* have been carved out insitu on almost rectangular platforms that have been structured out of the laterite. Thus the whole area portrays a Śaivaite picture associated with the laterite mining and iron smelting industry (Mehta, 1987).[8]

Conclusions :

The study indicates the utilization of locally available natural resource, laterite, in various activities like iron-extraction, building durable structures, in the textile-industry, as well as in the carving of religious artefacts insitu. This indicates a high level of understanding of the natural properties of laterite which enabled the local population to make optimum use of it. It is interesting to note that while it has now become uneconomical to extract iron from laterite, it was done extensively in the past. Large exposures of laterite are present in Gujarat

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6 Mehta, R. N. Personal Communication during field visit to the site 1987.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*

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as well as in other states of India and an indepth study of the technological intricacies of the smelting operations at Kapadvanj would serve well in using laterite as a source of iron in the present day.

Acknowledgements :

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"KĀLIDĀSA'S MEGHADŪTA AND VĀSTUŚĀSTRA"*

By
R. P. DWIVEDI†

Study of the works of a great poet like Kālidāsa brings out new ideas in keeping with the maxim-a thing of beauty is a joy for ever.

I will like to draw your attention to the description of the city of Alakā as well as that of the residence of Yakṣa. Both these are reminiscent of the poet's knowledge of Vāstuśāstra.

In the very ending of Pūrvamegha Yakṣa says to the cloud "When you reach on the summit of mountain Kailāsa you will be able to recognise the city of Alakā for certain by help of the Gaṅges flowing by her side".

Tasyotsaṅge praṇayin-iva srastagaṅgādukūlām
Na twaṁ dṛṣṭvā na punaralakāṁ jñāsyase Kāmacārin.
Yā vaḥ kāle vahati salilodgāramuccairvimānā
Muktājālagrathitamalakaṁ Kāminīvābhravṛndam.[1]

Description of Alakā according to Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra[2] :

Due to the different types of architecture of the site, about 20 types of cities are mentioned here. They have different names.[3] as 1. Padmanagara 2. Sarvatobhadra 3. Viśweśabhadra 4. Kārmuka 5. Prastara 6. Swastika 7. Caturmukha 8. Śrīpratiṣṭhā 9. Balideva 10. Pura 11. Devapura 12. Mānuṣapura 13. Vaijayanta 14. Puṭabhedana 15. Giri 16. Jala 17. Guhā 18. Aṣṭamukha 19. Nandyāvarta and 20. Rājadhānī.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 38. Nos. 3-4, March-June 1989 issue, pp. 279-289

* This paper was read at All Indian Oriental Conference Calcutta in October, 1986.

† C/o Dr. M. D. Paradkar, 4/11, Shah Building, Bhagat Road, Mahim, Bombay-400 016.

1 Caturvedī Sītārāma, *Kālidāsa Granthāvalī* (*KG*), Published by Pt. Gayā Pd. Jyotiṣī, Akhila Bhāratīya Vikrama Pariṣad, Kāśī, IInd Edition, V.S. 2007, page 355.

2 Śāstrī K. Vāsudeva and Gadre N. B., *Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstram* (*VVS*). Published by Gopālana S. Tanjore, 1958.

3 Ibid, page 98.

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Swastika Nagara :

The site of this nagara is circular in shape and is situated on the bank of a river, the foot of a hill or the sea-coast.[4]

According to the above rule Alakā is a Swastika Nagara because this is situated on the slope of Kailāsa mountain and on the bank of Gaṅgā.

Gatvācordhvaṁ daśamukhabhujocchvāsitaprasthasandheḥ
Kailāsasya tridaśavanitā darpaṇasyātithiḥ syāḥ.[5]
Mandākinyāḥ salilaśiśiraiḥ sevyamānāmarudbhiḥ.[6]

The swastika Nagara is fortified with a rampart and a moat. The center is left open being dedicated to Vāstunātha or it is occupied by the palace or the courts. Here the friend of Kubera, Mahādeva is dwelling in Alakā.

Matvā devaṁ dhanapatisakhaṁ Yatra sākṣādvasantam.[7]

The main streets start from the center towards the eight points of the compass. The breadths of the streets and the house are naturally bigger and bigger at the further ends. Here the streets are from East to West and South to North. The length of the streets is from 300 to 400 Rājadaṇḍas.[8] The temple is built in the Northern part and palace may be built in the South Eastern corner; and in the North Eastern corner may be built either the palace or the state officers quarters.

Tatrāgāraṁ dhanapatigṛhānuttareṇāsmadīyam.[9]

The houses of men of various vocations are to be built in the ten parts from Ākāśa to Mīna.[10]

The quarters of potters, barbers, washermen etc. are situated on the border of the rampart. The width of the streets varies as follows. The circular streets are 2 Rājadaṇḍas (See UM) in width i.e. 24 ft. Those ending at the corners 3 Rājadaṇḍas (See UM) East to West and North to South streets 4 Rājadaṇḍas (See UM)

Swastikākhyanagaryāstu Vāstubhūrvartulākṛtiḥ
Tasmādvartulamānena mānayecchilpapaṇḍitaḥ.
Nadītīre giressānau samudrasya taṭe-athavā

---

4 VVS page 130
5 KG, page 354
6 KG, page 357
7 KG, page 359
8 See Units of Measurement (UM) on page No. 281
9 KG, page 359
10 See Vāstumaṇḍala

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Saprākāraṁ sadurgañca Kalpayetswastikaṁpuram.[11]
Vahnerīśasya bhāge vā bhūpaharmyaṁ prakalpayet.[12]

Units of Measurement :

Before going to discuss other subjects as planing and construction of palace, cities, ponds, towers etc., I want to mention here the value of measuring rod. Different kinds of measurement necessary for the purpose are detailed. Measurement is the soul of all Arts and Crafts of Śilpin i.e. the sculptor.

3	Vrīhis	Make	1	Aṅgula
12	Aṅgulas	,,	1	Vitasti or Span
2	Vitastis	,,	1	Hasta or Cubit
2	Hastas	,,	1	Dhanurmuṣṭi or a Yard
2	Dhanurmuṣṭis	,,	1	Daṇḍa or small Rod
2	Daṇḍas	,,	1	Rājadaṇḍa or Royal Rod
2	Rājadaṇḍas	,,	1	Brahmadaṇḍa.[13]

The measuring rod is made of wood or silken cloth or metal or barks of trees. Dhanurmuṣti (See UM) or the yard is the unit generally used in measurement of idols. For the canopy i.e. Vimāna, Pedestals i.e. Phalakā for idols and sacrificial halls, hasta or cubit (See UM) is used. Villages are measured by Daṇḍa or Small Rod (See UM) and cities by the Rājadaṇḍa or the Royal Rod (See UM). Other places like roads or fields are measured by either rod. The Royal rod is prescribed for the measurement of whole villages, hills, forts, tanks and palaces. Temple site and halls are measured by Brahmadaṇḍa[14] (See UM).

Rules for Constructing Houses :

In constructing houses the following rules have to be observed. Houses should not face the opening of the streets or towers. They should not be built on uneven ground. The site should not be chosen if it makes an angle and breaks a continuity of the street lane. The construction should not also make a sudden departure in height from the neighbouring structures. There should be tanks and parks should be formed in every locality as space is available.

Yakṣa says to Megha "When you reach Alakā you will find a mansion to the North of Kubera's palace, that is mine. There is a small pond i.e. Vāpī[15] which is covered with full blown golden lotuses and adorned with emerald gems.[16]

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11 VVS, page 130
12 Ibid page 132
13 VVS, page X-XI (Introduction)
14 VVS, page X-XI (Introduction)
15 KG, page 359
16 Ibid, page 359

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The pond is situated in a beautiful park and also a pleasure mount on its bank."

Taṭākādi samāyuktaṁ niṣkuṭādi samanvitam
Viśrāntisthānakaṁ Kuryāttatra tatra samantataḥ.[17]
Vāpī cāsminmarakatas'ilābaddhasopānamārgā
Haimśchannā Vikacakamalaiḥ snigdhavaidūryanālaiḥ.[18]
Yasyopānte Kṛtakatanayaḥ Kāntayā vardhito me
Hastaprāpyastabakanamito bālamandāravṛkṣaḥ.[19]

Description of the Yakṣa's Houses :

Just now I mentioned the rules for house constructions and found that the Yakṣa's house followed the above rules. Further information is that the palace may be constructed either in the center of the city or at the place assigned for it in particular types of cities. The dimension may be anything from 50 to 500 Daṇḍas (See UM) or it may be 1/8 or 1/16 of the entire area of the city. The several buildings shall usually have storeys and special halls on the first and second floor called candraśālās shall also be constructed. The palace may have a single gate or 2 or 4.

Antastoyaṁ Maṇimayabhuvastuṅgamabhraṁlihāgrāḥ.[20]
Netrā nītāḥ satatagatinā yadvimānāgrabhūmiḥ.[21]
Vāmanaśca Vimānaśca harmyaśālāśca puṣkarāḥ
Tathā cottuṅganāmā ca pañcaite ca balāṇakāḥ.[22]
Vimānastuṅga nāmā ca rājaveśmāgrataḥ Śubhaḥ
Saptabhūmaṁ navabhūmaṁ ata-ūrdhvaṁ na kārayet.[23]

Description of Tower of the Yakṣa's House :

How the cloud will be able to recognise the Yakṣa's mansion; in this respect he firstly says that his mansion is situated to the North of Kubera's palace. Secondly, another sign is a rich and beautiful tower in front of the house. The tower is adorned with various types of colours, gems and art, charming and variegated like Indra's rain-bow from afar.

Dūrāllakṣyaṁ surapatidhanuścāruṇā toraṇena.[24]

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17 VVS, page 184
18 KG, page 359
19 KG, page 359
20 KG, page 356
21 KG, page 357
22 Sūtradhāra Nāthajī, Edited by Somapurā P.O. *Prāsāda Mañjarī* (PMN), Published by Somapurā B. P. Pālīṭānā Sauraṣtra, 1st edition 1965 Page 20
23 PMN page 20
24 KG, page 359

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Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstram says about Gopuram that Gopura or Towers should be in front of temples, palaces, mansions of royal families, cities, big villages and forts.

Devālayānāṁ bhūneturbhawanānāṁ purāmapi
Grāmāṇāmapi durgāṇāṁ śālānāmapi sadmanām.
Mukhadwāreṣu Kartavyaṁ gopuraṁ śilpibhiḥ kramāt.[25]
Grāmāṇāmapi sarveṣāṁ durgāṇāñca purāmapi
Mukhadwāraṁ Vyaktarūpaṁ yathāmānaṁ Prakalpayet.[26]

There is Sanskrit Commentary—

Tatra Khalu maṇḍakādinānāvidhagrāmāṇāṁ bhadraka-sarvatobhadrādinānāvidhanagarāṇāṁ ca mukhadwārasthalamati—manoharakalpanabhāsuraṁ dūrato darśaneapi pathikādīnāṁ suvyaktarūpaṁ Kalpanīyamiti lakṣaṇavākyā-rthaḥ.[27]

The stability and beauty of towers that are seen in various parts of south India are positive proofs that the proportion of the various parts given in the texts and practised by the architects satisfy all the factors required by the engineer, architect and sculptor.

Pleasure Garden :

Yasyopānte Kṛtakatanayaḥ Kāntayā Vardhito me
Hastaprāpyastabakanamito bālamandāra Vṛkṣaḥ.[28]

When the Megha enters from Gopuram i.e. Toraṇa, he should find a pleasure garden in the premises of his mansion with a tender Kalpavṛkṣa i.e. Mandāravṛkṣa with its clusters of flowers, so easy to reach by hand, which was nurtured by Yakṣa's beloved wife like her son.

Vāme bhāge dakṣiṇe vā nṛpāṇāṁ tredhākāryā vāṭikā
Krīḍanārtham
Eka-dwi-trirdaṇḍasaṅkhyāśatam Syānmadhye dhārāmaṇḍapatoyay-antraiḥ.[29]
Kinnare bhāskare vā-atha vihārasthalamiṣyate
Tatraivodyānabhūmiñca nirdiśettuṣṭihetave.[30]

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25 VVS, page 417
26 VVS, page 664
27 VVS, page 664
28 KG, page 359
29 Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana *Prāsāda Maṇḍanam and Rājavallabha Maṇḍanam* (PRV) Published by Metropoliton printing and Publishing House Limited, Calcutta, 1948, page 96
30 VVS, page 228

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Small Pond :

In that beautiful garden; covered with full-blown golden lotuses and swans there has been formed a small pond. Its staircase is built with plenty of emeralds.

Vāpī cāsminmarakataśilābaddhasopānamārgā
Haimaśchannā Vikacakamalaiḥ snigdhavaidūryanālaiḥ.[31]
Sapādaṁ vā vipādaṁ vā yuktyā sthāpanamīritam
Kalpanaṁ dārḍhyasaṁyuktaṁ pādasopānamañjulam.[32]
Tasmāttatkalpayet puryāmudyāne bhawanāntare
Paritastu catuśśālam jalakumbhādiśītalam.[33]
Sataṭākaṁ Viharaṇasthānañca Parikalpayet.[34]

The small pond may be square, rectangular or circular in shape. It is enclosed by walls and has openings on all the four sides. It is also provided with bathing ghātas on all the four sides suitable for sporting in water.

Bhadraiḥ subhadraṁ parighaikayugmam
Bakasthalaikadwayameva yasmin.[35]

Pleasure Mount :

Addressing the Megha about his own palace Yakṣa said that on the bank of pond he should find a pleasure mount which was a special favourite of his wife and he used to pass most of his time there in her company. Now he thinks that the pleasure mountain is a constant eyesore to her. The pleasure mountain is constructed with gems and sapphires. It is surrounded by Kanaka-Kadalīs.

Tasyāstīre racitaśikharaḥ peśalairindranīlaiḥ
Krīḍāśailaḥ Kanakakadalīveṣṭanaprekṣaṇīyaḥ.[36]

In the pleasure mount garden charming variegated flowers, trees and creepers like Red-Aśoka, Kesara, Kurabaka, Mādhavī[37] etc. are situated. There is also a pedestal made of crystal and a golden Vāsayaṣti where the favourite pet of Yakṣa's wife, takes rest after performing its dance.

Tanmadhye ca sphaṭikaphalakā Kāñcanī Vāsayaṣṭiḥ.[38]

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31 KG, page 359
32 VVS, page 434-35
33 VVS, page 386
34 VVS, page 390
35 Gosāin Nārāyanbhārati Y. *Rājavallabha or Śilpaśāstra* (*RS*) Published by-Gujarāta Gazet Mudraṇālaya, Ahmedabāda, 1896 A.D., Page 76
36 KG, page 359
37 KG, page 360
38 KG, page 360

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The parks for the deer, peacock, calves and pet birds and other pet animals- They are to be enclosed by fences of iron and provided with reservoirs of water and grounds for ladies of the palace and nobility to sport themselves with the pets.

Bālānāṁ bālikānāñca Yuvatīnāṁ Viśeṣataḥ
Śuddhāntasundarīṇāñca cittaharṣābhivṛddhaye.
Kalpanaṁ Vividhaṁ Kāryaṁ sthalajātyādibhedataḥ
Śukānāmapi kīrāṇāṁ mayūrāṇāmapi Kwacit.[39]
Lohadaṇḍaṁ dārudaṇḍaṁ śṛṅkhalānvitameva vā
Bahurandhraṁ sakaṭakaṁ pañjaraṁ Kalpayet budhaḥ.[40]

Prāsādamaṇḍanam and Rājavallabha Maṇḍanam[41] said that in the left or right side of the palace pleasure garden must be there. And there should be different types of flowers, trees and creepers etc.

Tasyāṁ Campakakuṇḍajātisumanovalyaśca nirvālikā
Jātā hemasamānaketakirapi śwetā tathā pāṭalā
Nāriṅgaḥ Karaṇī vasantalatikā cāraktapuṣpādikaṁ
Jāmbīro Badarī ca Pūgamadhukā Jambuśca Cūtadrumāḥ
Māllūraḥ Kadalī ca candanavaṭāśvatthapathye śivā
Ciñcāśokakadambanimbataravaḥ Kharjūrikādāḍimī
Karpūrāgurukiṁśukā Hayaripuḥ Punnāgako Nimbukī.
Proktā Nāgalatā ca bījanibhṛtā syāttindukī Lāṅgalī
Drākṣailā śatapatrikā ca bakulā dhattūrakaṅkolakau
Śālastālatamālakau munivaro mandārapāridrumau.[42]

BedRoom :

The bedroom shall be built in the front portion of palaces, in the middle portion of halls and near the platforms on either side. The surroundings shall be such that it may be cool in summer and warm in winter. The dimension may be 2 Rājadaṇḍas (See UM) or more and may be of any shape. There shall be one or two windows.

The Megha should flash light in Yakṣa's wife's bedroom through the windows from the summit of pleasure mount. It shows that his bedroom is quite suitable and comfortable place as said above.

Yakṣa says to his friend that of-course you must recognise the mansion to remember the above points and you will be sure on seeing the signs of conch and lotus on both sides of the door.

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39 VVS, page 450
40 VVS, page 451
41 See F. N. No. 1 on page-7
42 PRV, page 96-97

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Dwāropānte likhitavapuṣau śaṅkhapadmau ca dṛṣṭvā.[43]
Ṣaḍbhāge prathame Kampadalapadmāṁśapaṭṭikāḥ.
Racayeccitravinyāsaṁ netrānandakaraṁ śubham.[44]
Śaṅkha and padma both are the signs of prosperity.

Windows Or Ventilations :

The varied kinds of windows suitable for Zenanas should be such that there may be ventilation and view from inside but no visibility from outside. The designs of such windows are detailed under 9 heads[45] in Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstram. 1. Padmapatra 2. Gajanetra 3. Chaṭā 4. Dhenupāda 5. Mṛgīnetra 6. Pārāvatam 7. Śukanāsā 8. Bahurandhra 9. Turagāsya.

Rājavallabha or śilpaśāstra[46] has mentioned 15 types.[47] 1. Tripatāka 2. Ubhaya 3. Swastika or Nandāvartaka 4. Priyavakra 5. Sumukha 6. Suvaktra 7. Priyaṅga 8. Padmanābha 9. Dīpacitra 10. Vaicitra 11. Singha 12. Haṁsa 13. Matida 14. Budhyarṇava and 15. Garuḍa.

The Garuḍa windows have net on their both sides. The mansions of Alakā appear to have this type of windows.

Dwāreṇaiva yugāsrakeṇa Garuḍaḥ pakṣadwaye jālakam.[48]
Śaṅkāspṛṣṭā-iva jalamucastwādṛṣā jālamārgaiḥ.
Dhūmodgārānukṛtinipuṇā jarjarā niṣpatanti.[49]

So on account of above noted points we find that in the description of Alakā, construction and situation of mansions, Temples, towers, ponds, pleasure gardens, bedrooms, windows and so on, Kālidāsa had before his mind's eye the certain rules of Vāstuśāstra.[50] Here in Meghadūta some words such as " Vimānāgrabhūmiḥ ".[51] " Dwāropānte Likhitavapuṣau Śaṅkhapadmau ca dṛṣṭvā "[52] are reminiscent of the architectural knowledge of Kālidāsa.

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43 KG, page 360
44 VVS, page 399
45 VVS, page 343-44
46 See F.N. No. 1 on page-8
47 RS, page 137-38
48 RS, Page 138
49 KG, page 357
50 As mentioned in this paper
51 KG, page 357
52 KG, page 360

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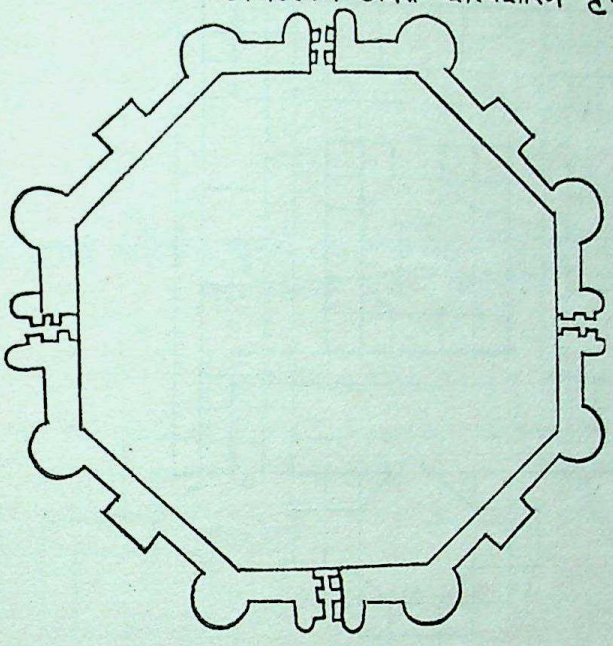
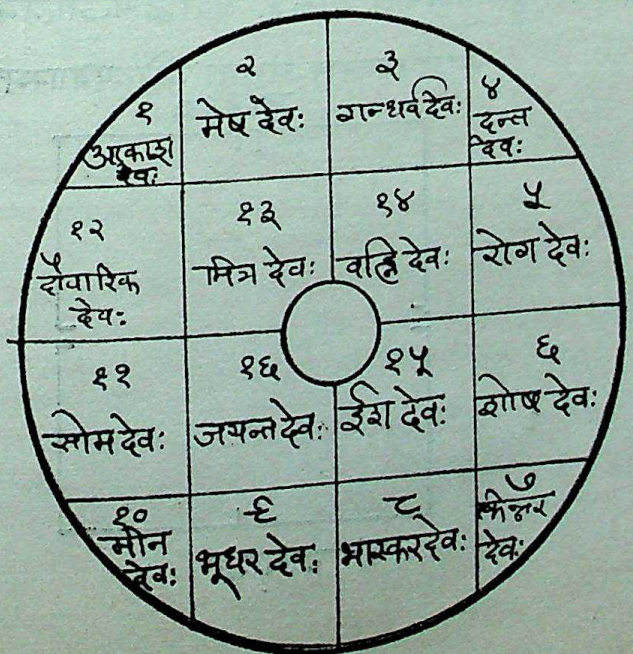
॥ त्वष्टाश्रंकथ्यन्तिस्वस्तिकमिति प्रोक्ता गुणाविंशतिः॥ ४।६
राजवल्लभ अथवा शिल्पशास्त्र पृ. ६५



स्वस्तिक नगर

॥ मण्डल वास्तु देवभागाः॥ विश्वकर्म वास्तुशास्त्रम्
पृष्ठ १०६



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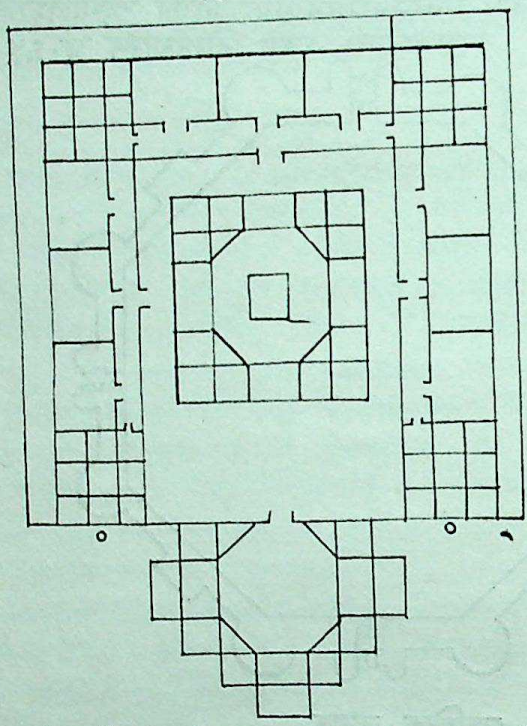
यक्षागार



मुखेभद्रके श्रीधरंमाडयुक्तं तथा मूरिका: पञ्चसप्तैवभूम्य:।
विनाच्छादनंमंडपं वेदकैरिशुद्धनंगृहं राज्यवर्धन्यमेतत्॥
राजवल्लभ अथवा शिल्पशास्त्र ९/३,
पृष्ठ १४३

॥ द्वारेणैव मुगास्त्रकेण गरुड: पक्षद्वयेजालकम ॥

राजवल्लभ अथवा शिल्पशास्त्र ८/११
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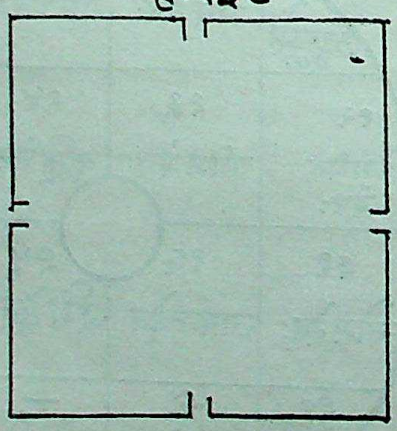

१ गवाक्ष

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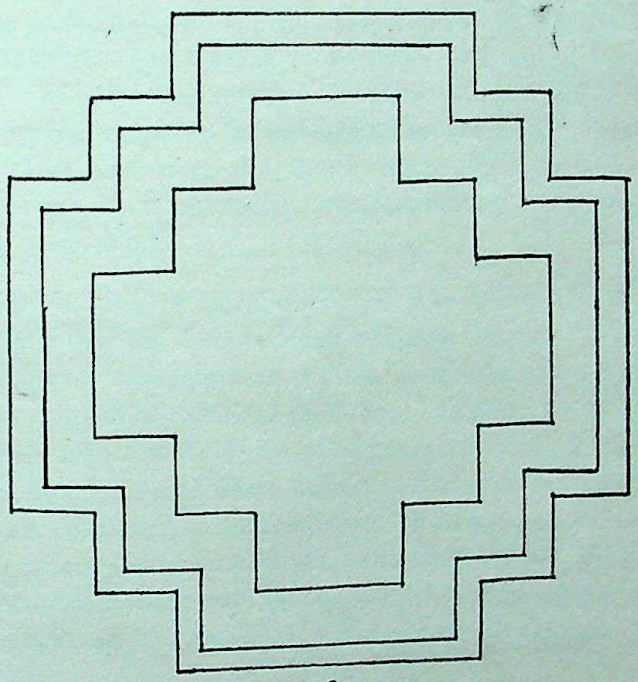
॥ भद्रैः सुभद्रं परिधैक युग्मं वकस्थलैकद्वयमेवयस्मिन् ॥ ४।२९
राजवल्लभ अथवा शिल्पशास्त्र पृ. ७६



वापी

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY : MORPHOLOGY PHONOLOGIZED

By
BHARATI MODI*

O. In today's linguistic situation we often hear grievances of linguists about the lack of (i) articulate theory of morphology/ of workable theory of synchronic morphology (ii) explicit theory of morphological change. The reason why morphology is being referred to as a neglected area lies in the fact that linguists have mostly tried to study the strata of linguistic hierachy either from bottom to top or from top to bottom, and in doing so the 'middle' remained a little less explored. The viewing of language as a series of levels or as having neat strata " with carefully specified directions of interaction " is rather like a " grasp of language simplified for pedagogical presentation " (Lehman and Malkiel : 1968). However, since last fifteen years the realization that the separatness of the components of linguistic structure hinders 'Linguistic knowledge' is evident in many studies.

The phonemic structure of morphemes show that 'since morphemes have a semantic or syntactic function and phonemes a discrete function " the question of limitrophous problems engaging both domains phonemics and morphology " (Kurylowicz : 1968) should be examined carefully. Language should be viewed as a whole : through such a holistic view of language where all the components of language are well integrated and where change in one area has consequences for the other we can enhance our understanding. Recently linguists have fully accepted the dynamic interaction between the parts of grammar and dynamic/ evolutionary connections between various stages of the language history. The dynamic interaction between the parts of grammar implies the question of sound change (see figure 1).

O. 1 A little digression is called for at this point. From 1975 some linguists have remained proponents of the functionalist tenet (Campbell : 1975) by asserting that " the dialectic between naturally motivated sound changes and their therapeutic prevention or reparation for functional reasons are the current explanatory themes ". (Campbell and Harris, 1983 : 191). For Campbell morphological changes are to be expected only where a regular sound change

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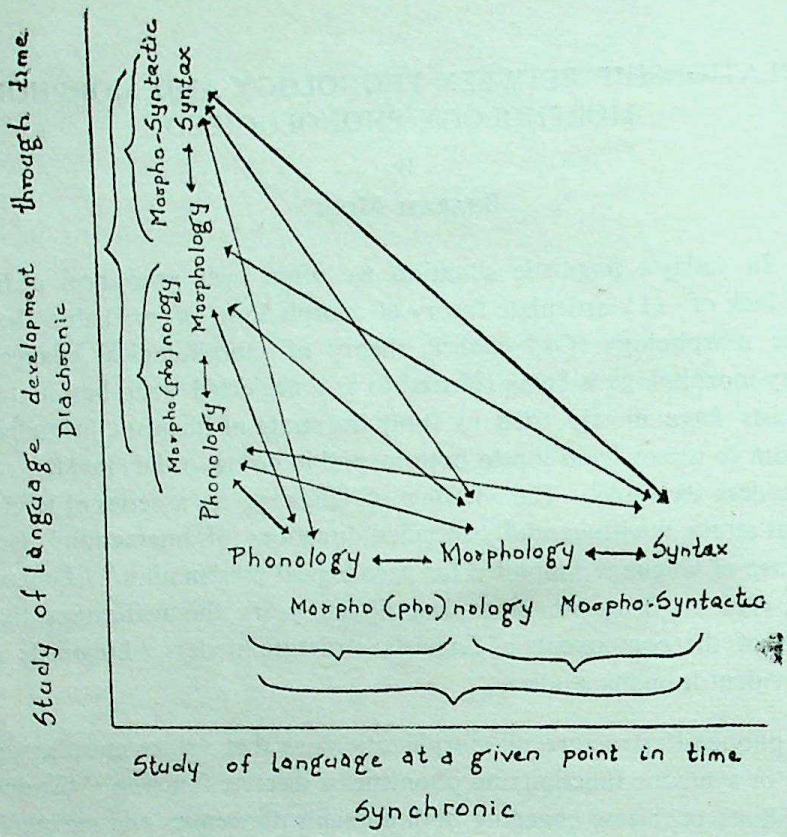

Figure -1

would create functional inefficiency or paradigm opacity (Campbell, 1975 : 391). According to him morphological change takes place to prevent some dysfunction at other level. Lass (1980) completely rejects such teleological explanations of sound change. He finds such statements as indirect imposition where an epistomology is set up to prove ones own notions !

However irrespective of the question whether we accept any teleological explanation, the search must go on : keeping in mind two things 1) explanation should not be shaped in terms of any prefixed model and 2) requirements of model should not stop us from knowing our data.

1. When the non-phonological untity has an effect on phonological entity or vice-versa, how do we describe such phenomenon ? A peep into our ancient Indian linguistic studies would not be out of place here. The ancient scholars of prātiśākhyas had worked out a derivational system of rules of analysis as well as synthesis; i.e., mapping the phonetic text onto the other text by synthesis. They transmuted speech sounds from isophonic stage (pada text) to their

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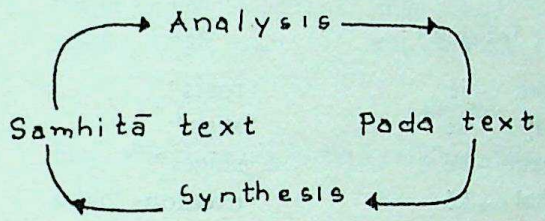
rhythmic continuity (Saṃhitā text). They showed many combinarotial changes due to dynamicity of language. They started with a scalar notion of speech sound organized within syllables rather than speech sounds as delimitative units following each other sequentially (Mahulkar, 1981) (In modern linguistics it is mainly dependency phonology which adheres to scalar representation). Prātiśākhya scholars wanted to study both the analyzed state of sounds and the synthesized state of sounds as shown below :



(Mahulkar, 1981)

Figure-2

They all unanimously agreed upon the importance of ' pada ' and ' saṃhitā '.[1]

1.1 As Anderson (1980) has defined morpheme—the content sign—is the central notion in morphology, morpheme consists of signans, signatum and a sign rule establishing the relation between the two. This relation in a way implies the non-autonomous status of both : signans and signatum. The ' relational basis ' between every component means acceptance of dynamicity concept. Any linguistic description disregarding this part-whole relationship does it so at its own peril. The relation is often manifested overtly and essentially in morpho-phonemic and phonological changes.

2. It is proposed in this paper that the relation between signatum and signans if understood well can explain the joint functioning of both strata. The meet of this two strata of linguistic description is highly intriguing and interestingly challenging.

The topic examined here helps to pinpoint one theoretical issue regarding the intimate relationship between phonology and morphology. An effort is made to touch a small area of ' intermediate entity ' between phonology and morphology, in order to indicate dynamic interaction between dynamic entities—diachronically as well as synchronically.

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1 ṚK prātiśākhya, II : 1,2. Saṃhitā pada prakrtiḥ. Padāntānpadabhiḥ sandadhadeti yatsā kālāvyavāyeni. Atharva prātiśākhya, II : 1 saṃhitāyām. Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, V : 1 athasamhitāyāmekaprāṇabhāve (ekenocchvāsena yāvānuccāryate)

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2.1 Most of the IA languages show one common morphological phenomenon, where in morphomic extensions vowel ' a ' (mostly of the second syllable) gets deleted. The data is given here from some of the major IA languages. Nonetheless Gujarati data remains the main object of study.

Gujarati

Bisyllabic stem + simple present tense marker

(3rd sing)

garáj + e	gar – jé	' roars '
lapás + e	lap – sé	' slips '
camák + e	cam – ké	' shines '
chalák + e	chal – ké	' overflows '
chaṭák + e	chaṭ – ké	' escapes '
jakáḍ + e	jak – ḍé	' grips '
jhaḷák + e	jhaḷ – ké	' shines '
jharáp + e	jhar – pĕ	' drips '
ṭaṭáḷ + e	ṭaṭ – ḷé	' pines '
ṭapák + e	ṭap – ké	' drips '
pāthár + e	pā'th – re	' spreads '
kātár + e	kā't – re	' slices '
nikáḷ + e	ník – ḷe	' comes out '
khijáv + e	khij – ve	' teases '
nitár + e	nít – re	' drips '
sijáv + e	sij – ve	' cooks '
mokál + e	mók – le	' sends '
kotár + e	kót – re	' etches '
copaḍ + e	cóp – ḍe	' applies '

Marathi

Bisyllabic stem + imperative (pl).

pakaḍ + ā	pak – ḍā	' hold ! '
pasar + ā	pas – rā	' spread ! '
bhijaw + ā	bhij – wā	' wet ! '
ṭikaw + ā	ṭik – wā	' make it last ! '
wādz aw + ā	wadz – wā	' play ! ' (instrument)
wāpar + ā	wap – rā	' use ! '
thopaṭ + ā	thop – ṭā	' pat ! '
soḍaw + ā	soḍ – wā	' release ! '
uḍaw + ā	uḍ – wā	' make it fly ! '

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Hindi

Bisyllalic stem + Future Marker (Masc. Sg.).

taḍap + egā	taḍ – pegā	' will pino '
jhagaḍ + egā	jhag – ḍegā	' will quarrol '
pakaḍ + egā	pak – ḍegā	' will hold '
garaj + egā	gar – jegā	' will roar '
macal + egā	mac – legā	' will twist '
caṭak + egā	caṭ – kegā	' will bite '

Bengali

Bisyllabic nominal + verb making suffix

śātār + āno	śāt – rāno	' Swimming '
comok + āno	com – kāno	' Shining '
cāpoḍ + āno	cāp – ḍāno	' Slapping '
kāmoḍ + āno	kām – ḍāno	' biting '

Kutchi

Bisyllalic stem + perfect marker + supporting verb + past marker (Masc)

Saṭak + i + vyo	saṭ – ki + vyo	' escaped '
gabaḍ + i + vyo	gab – ḍi + vyo	' rolled down '
rakhaḍ + i + vyo	rak – ḍi + vyo	' left out '
khakhaḍ + i + vyo	khakh – ḍi + vyo	' worn out '
sasaḍ + i + vyo	sas – ḍi + vyo	' heated '

Sindhi more or less works on similar pattern.

Thus deletion of ' a ' is a common issue and results into morpheme alternants. Such as from vaṇàs destroy, vaṇsè ' gets destroyed ', We get, vaṇas and vaṇ-s

2.2 This commonly found phenomenon makes it imperative for us to take the issue to its historical perspective. Bloch (1965 : 46-47) notes that in modern times the word rhythm dominates the etymological quantity. Short vowels may not withstand the inflectional extensions. He has also registered the loss of medial vowels (even the vowels other than ' a ') in morphological formations;

Bengali

Fem.	Masc.
thāk-ran	thākur
[gāns-ā]	ganesa
Maithili	Hindi
ham-rā	hamārā

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Such cases of shortening and of loss of characteristic timbre in MI indicate that "there evidently was a struggle between rhythmic peaks with no clear principle governing predominence". The point to be emphasized is that vowel quality and syllabic weight depend upon the context. Bloch expresses his surprise at the fact that vowels at MI stage were subordinated to consonant skeleton. According to him stronger contradiction to vedic system could hardly be found.

It can be seen that the phenomenon discussed here is hardly new. This widespread feature of IA languages is conspicuously predominant in Gujarati.

2.3 I am trying to interpret such morphemic innovation—which has come to us from MI stage—in a speaker-based approach. I feel that innovations in morphology can be understood as originating in the production of speech/in strategies of speech production.[2]

Data from other dialect of Gujarati adds one more facet to the problem. The uneducated speakers or sometimes educated speakers in informal speech insert vowel 'a'—thus adding a syllable with stressed 'a'; e.g.,

	D_1	D_2 (uneducated, and educated in informal)	
Sg	p_1	p_1	
copḍi	copḍio	copaḍio	'books'
chokri	thokrio	chokario	'girls'
baṅgdi	baṅgḍio	baṅgadio	'bangles'
barṇi	barṇio	baraṇio	'jars'
saghḍi	saghḍio	saghaḍio	'stoves'
vāḍki	vāḍkio	vāḍakio	'fingers'
			'bowls.'*

* D_1, D_2 = different dialects

3. Several questions arise from this data :

(1) Can we describe how and why this type of morpheme alternants are caused ?

The following two questions make it incumbent upon us to search the answers in phonology. As Anderson (1975 : 51) puts "the primary reason for incorporating phonological rules in the linguistic description (is) the need to describe alternants in shape which morpheme *undergoes* in various environments.

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2 I fully appreciate Lass 'criticism of speaker-free linguistics. He asks' can language be said to change only in relation to itself and not to sparkers' need? This would present the possibility of a linguistic 'world 3' : parallel to popper's 'epistemology without a knowing subject' (Lass, 1980 : 122).

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(2) Why the deletion takes place in case of ' a ' vowel alone ? Gujarati examples below show that other vowels are not deleted in similar morphemic extensions.

vagād	+ e	vagāḍe	' plays ' (instrument)
lasoṭ	+ e	lasoṭe	' makes paste '
kharid	+ e	kharide	' buys '
bhabhuk	+ e	bhabhuke	' flares up '

(3) How do we interpret consonant sequences caused by vowel deletion? (diachronically as well as synchronically).

(4) How do we understand the dialectal variation ?

3.1 In this section I have tried to answer these questions. In answer to the first question we can note that the morpheme alternants seen here are due to vowel deletion. The phenomena of vowel reduction and/or deletion are as old as the history of language can go back. The issue of reduction/deletion depends heavily on aspects of stress, syllable and rhythmic pattern of language. The vowel deletion phenomenon in Gujarati shows connected changes (chain reactions) as shown below :

A. Morphemic extension	(a) ' ə ' vowel deletion
	(b) syllable reduction
	(c) formation of ' cc ' sequence
B. Syllable reduction	(a) stress shifting and readjusting of relative prominence.
	(b) Repatterning of syllable and stress in metrical grid.
	(c) Thus breaking the ' cc ' sequence.

Gujarati syllable—stress pattern is roughly like this;

1. All the mono-syllables have the stress—which is neutral stress or acompared stress, e.g.,

[màn]	mind	[é]	he
[t ā′ l]	beat	[ā′]	this
[k é m]	why	[t ũ′]	you

2. (a) In dysyllabic words if the second syllable is open, the first syllable takes the stress, e.g.,

púḷo	bundle of grass
tā′rā	stars
pélo	he (that one)

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(b) But if the first vowel is ' ə ' the second syllable inspite of being open takes the stress, e.g.,

śaní	saturn
sajā'	punishment
mané	to me

(c) If the second syllable is closed the second is stressed. e.g.,

manán	concentration
khārék	a dry fruit
bhugóḷ	geography
sapā'ṭ	flat

3. In trisyllabic words the second closed syllable is always stressed, e.g..

karóḷio	spinder
masā'lo	spice
maṅkóḍo	insect

4. In polysyllabic words (which are formed only after morphemic extensions) word stress is adjusted according to the rhythmic pattern.

dafán	' bury ! '
dafnā'v	' bury ! '
dafnā'vnā'r	' one who buries '
dafnā'vnā'rā	' those who bury '
dafnàvnàrā'mã̃	' in those who bury '
dafnāvnàrā'm ã̃'thi	' from those who bury '

We can say that in general the syllable is heavy when closed and stressed when heavy. Non-heavy syllable seems to rebuff the stress sending it over to more receptive heavy syllable. This pattern is limited to disyllabic words. Most of the indigenous words in Gujarati are disyllabic.

It can be seen that after morphemic extensions the second vowel ' a ' loses its vocalic timbre—this decrease in sonarity makes that vowel less suitable for its function as the syllabicity bearer and stress bearer, hence the deletion takes place.

3.2 In order to answer the second question I have treated the issue of ' a ' vowel with greater details. This vowel has interesting behaviour in all IA languages in general and in Gujarati in particular :

(a) ' ə ' never occurs word finally except after some Sanskritic clusters, e.g.,

anna	food	vidya	existing
satya	truth	kāṣṭa	wood

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After N + C clusters it is not retained, e.g., raṅg 'colour'. pañc 'five', It should be noted that after such clusters in Marathi and Bengali the vowel 'a' is retained, e.g.,

raṅgā,	pañca	Marathi	
roṅgo,	poñco	Bengali	(In Bengali vowel 'a' has become) 'ɔ' (open mid vowel) or 'o' (mid vowel)

(b) All the vowels except 'a' can occur as inflectional endings, e g.,

– i	Fem. Marker	– ā	plural
– o	Masc. Marker	– e	present 3rd sing,
– ū	Neuter Marker		Instrumental case Marker

(c) 'a' never gets nasalized as a single vocalic element.

'a' then remains an inadequate vowel phoneme due to its restricted behaviour : never occurs finally and never takes stress or nasality. It transfers all such load on 'ā' without being disturbed as a segmental phoneme. Ancient Indian phoneticians have noted that the members of the pair a/aa are different not only in length (kālabhinna) but also in quality-degree of openness (vivāra bhinna). 'a' is saṃvṛta. Pāṇini was aware that he had based his phonological statement on the fiction of identical quality between the pair and he cancelled the error by the phonetic admission of his famous last aphorism. 'aa' i.e. the short 'a' which has for phonological purposes been treated as of identical quality with the long one is phonetically closer (saṃvṛta) (Allen, 1965 : 58). Vowel 'a' of Gujarati is saṃvṛta—i.e., achromatic and also less sonorant. Donegan (1978) has considered sonority of vowels to correlate with their sustainability or continuance. Less sonorant vowels may be more susceptible to deletion. Her analogy—of 'rich gets richer and poor gets poorer—can be intrepreted relevantly like this—the vowel is susceptible to decrease particular quality because it already possesses it in small quantity.

This analogy is similar to Foley's (1977) 'Intertial development principle' according to which weak becomes weaker in weak environment and vice-versa. On the strength parameter of Gujarati vowels 'ā' is the strongest and 'a' the weakest :

a	i	u e	o	ā	→ relative phonological strength
1	2	3	4	5	

All this detailed discussion is for proving the proneness of 'a' to deletion and hence for understanding the morphemc alternants.

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3.3 Apart from being relevant to the main topic of morpheme alternant the third question raises one important theoretical issue of phonology : when consonants are juxtaposed due to vowel deletion do they form the phonological clusters of the language ?[3]

I want to assert that these type of sequences of IA languages can never be classed as phonological clusters. These sequences are consequences of readjustment in rhythmic pattern of language and thus are nonsegmental/asegmental issues. 'a' deletion causes stress shiftment in syllabic extensions and this 'shifting' or 'destressing' and consonent skeletan adjusting, cannot be referred to as the properties of segments 'but rather as the reflection of " hierarchic rhythmic structuring that organizes the syllables, words and syntaetic phrases of a sentence (Liberman and Prince 1977 : 249). The shifting of stress according to relative prominence, and the notion of linguistic rhythm in terms of metrical grid appear more *convincing* and *natural*. The metrical grid has been explained as hierarchy of intersecting periodicities the structure of which is relevant to rhythm and timing. Selkirk (1978) espouses to this views by positing prosodic categories.

Once we accept this approach which is at once holistic as well as precise, we would be in a better position to explain such consonant sequences. Metrical grid must provide for temporal rhythmic interpretation (Prince : 1980) when two linguistic constructs come together there is bound to be the readjustment in the patterns of prominence. e.g., in Gujarati : vaṇás + é = vaṇásé.
Instead we get vaṇ-sé because the rhythmic rules will remedy the clashing grid (when two forms are juxtaposed we get 'a clash' which means too great proximity of elements). For such clashing sequences I suggest a rule of syllabication which will rectify universally prohibited clusters[4] and also these sequences which are incompatible with natural and language specific clusters.

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3 A reference to such sequences being treated as phonological clusters will not be out of place here. Pandit (1957), Dey (1979), and Singh (1980) (gap between them is of twenty years) have considered N + C homorganic and nonhomorganic sequences alike. According to them all consonants coming in linear order (i.e. even if they are juxtaposed due to diachronic/synchronic morphemic extensions) are phonological clusters. Examples from Dey (1979) and Singh (1980) : bhañci, lɛgṭa, soṅwit etc. Example from Pandit (1957) vañse maṇki, raḷto etc.

4 Venneman (1975) rightly says that when speech sounds combine they do so according to stringent laws and they can alter contextually if they enter phonetically impermissible combinations—there is no language with a contrary process and the process can be explained phonetically. (For Gujarati the alteration takes place by syllable-stress shift and this stops impermissible combinations).

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Syllabication rule and the condition of application :

In $\underset{\underset{S_1}{|}}{\underset{1}{C}}$ $\underset{\underset{S_2}{|}}{\underset{2}{C}}$ $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ + \text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$ (C) associate C_1 and C_2

i.e. $\underset{\underset{S_1}{|}}{V}$ $\underset{\underset{S_1}{|}}{a}$ $\underset{|}{ṇ}$ $\underset{|}{s}$ $\underset{\underset{S_2}{|}}{e}$

The rule is too inclusive and gives us –ṇs–, hence we give a condition that C_1 C_2 must not be a member of prohibitive clusters :

now we get $\underset{\underset{S_1}{|}}{\text{vaṇ}}$ $\underset{\underset{S_2}{|}}{\text{se}}$

3.4 Diachronically such sequences are the consequence of stem +Noun forming endings. These endings have become inherent to the words. Yet the dialectal variations are the indicators of the relations between phonology and morphology and diachrony and synchrony. If a dialect does not delete 'a' vowel, or if 'a' is retained in folk singing and poetry our data becomes heterogenous. But such heterogeneity is actually structured (Weinreich, 1968). It indicates (inspite of diversities) unilingual linguistic competence. Gujarati speaker adjusts either by deleting vowel 'a' or by positing it as per his rhythmic requirements. This answers my fourth question.

4. Answers to all these questions propose a very close knit relationship between phonology and morphology. The complex interaction between the language components are better understood by such relation-based and speaker based approach. I extend a chart for putting this relation on a visual plane (see figure 3). I suggest that in this particular small issue of morpheme alternants morphology is phonologized. No special claim is made except that the examples and interpretion may help further heuristic search.

MORPHEME

MORPHEMIC EXTENSIONS

↓

MORPHEMIC INNOVATIONS
PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE

↓

PROSODIC/METRICAL RULES

↓

(Involving stress-shift syllabication metrical grid)

↓

MORPHEME ALTERNANTS

↓

MOPHOLOGY PHONOLOGIZED

Figure 3

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A NEW LIGHT ON THE KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA II. 31.18.

By

S. G. MOGHE*

The passage from the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* II. 31. 18 runs as follows :—

शोभावशेन व्यायामं भद्रं मन्दं च कारयेत् ।
मृगं संकीर्णलिङ्गं च कर्मस्वृतुवशेन वा ॥

This passage is translated by Prof. R. Shamshastry as follows :—

'Suitably to the seasons as well as to their physical—splendour, elephants of sharp or slow sense (*bhadra* and *manda*) as well as elephants possessed of the characteristics of other beasts shall be trained and taught suitable work.' (Page No. 171).

Prof. R. P. Kangle, however, translates the above passage as follows :—

'In conformity with the appearance, he should give exercise to the gentle and the dull (elephants) and to the animal with mixed characteristics, in various types of work, or in accordance with the season.' (*Kauṭilīya Artha-Śāstra*— Vol. II P. 176).

In his note on this passage, Prof. Kangle remarks 'This seems necessary whether we understand *mṛga* as the third and *Saṅkīrṇaliṅga* as the fourth type, as in the commentators, or *Saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* as only a description of *mṛga* the third type. This latter idea is better.' (*Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* Vol. II. P. 176).

From the translations of both the scholars, the question arises as regards the exact interpretation of the expressions—*mṛga* and *Saṅkīrṇaliṅgam*,—occurring in the text of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.

Before proceeding with the discussion proper, it is necessary to clarify the stand-point of the above mentioned authorities on the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.

(1) Prof. Shamshastry takes *mṛga* and *saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* as the varieties of elephants; but in understanding the fourth variety of the elephants, he takes *saṅkīrṇa* as the variety of elephants possessing the characteristics of other beasts.

(2) Prof. Kangle, however, takes *saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* as the description of *mṛga* and further understands *mṛga* as having a reference to an animal and not a reference to the third variety of elephants.

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With due respect to the above mentioned authorities on the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the present author expresses his complete disagreement with them for the following grounds :—

(1) It may be respectfully pointed out that Varāhamihira (585 A.D. according to MM. Dr. P. V. Kane) has introduced four varieties of elephants particularly in his *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* 66.1-5. These varieties are *Bhadra*, *Manda*, *mṛga* and *saṅkīrṇa*. It is interesting to remember that Varāhamihira has given full description of the characteristics of these four types of elephants and the Commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala on the same is also more explicit. I take this opportunity of quoting the text[1] of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* in the foot-note.

(2) Prof. H. D. Velankar has edited the *Budha-Bhūṣaṇam* of the king Śambhu, the son of Śivājī, the great. It is worthy of note here that the stanzas 168 to 183 of the *Budha-Bhūṣaṇam* give us full description of the four varieties of elephants. One may note here in passing that the description available here is complementary to the description that is presented by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. Hence I think it fit to reproduce[2] below the important description of the two varieties of elephants from the *Budha-Bhūṣaṇam*.

(3) It may be noted here that both Varāhamihira and the King Śambhu describe the fourth variety of elephants as *Saṅkīrṇam* and *miśra* respectively. One may be tempted to remark here that this fourth variety though one, is described slightly differently by both the authors.

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1 मध्वाभदन्ताः सुविभक्तदेहा न चोपदिग्धा न कृशाः क्षमाश्च । बृहत्संहिता.
गात्रैः समैश्चापसमानवंशा वराहतुल्यैर्जघनैश्च भद्राः ॥ 66. 1.
वक्षोऽथ कक्षावलयः श्लथाश्च लम्बोदरस्त्वग्बृहती गलश्च ।
स्थूला च कुक्षिः सह पेचकेन सैंही च दृग् मन्दमतङ्गजस्य ॥ 2 ॥
मृगास्तु ह्रस्वाधरवालमेढ्रास्तन्वङ्घ्रिकण्ठद्विजहस्तकर्णाः ।
स्थूलेक्षणाश्चेति यथोक्तचिह्नैः सङ्कीर्णनागा व्यतिमिश्रचिह्नाः ॥ 3 ॥
(pp. 729-730)

2 मृगः तनुत्वक्कर्णपादो यः स्तब्धास्यस्तनुमेहनः ।
तनुवंशोदरश्चैव तनुव्यक्ततनूरुहः ॥ 177 ॥
दीर्घजिह्वविषाणश्च दीर्घगात्रस्तथा च सः ।
प्रध्वस्तरोमकर्णश्च पुरस्ताच्चापि संवृतः ॥ 178 ॥
पुनः पुनश्च विनदन् दुर्गतिश्चापि धावति ॥ 180 ॥
नित्यं च सान्त्वयेदेनं न चैनमभितापयेत् ।
सर्वेषां लक्षणैः कैश्चिद्युक्तो मिश्रो भवेद्गजः ॥ 183 ॥
बुधभूषणम् pp. 43-44.

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(4) Now one has also to face the question as regards the exact description of the *Saṅkīrṇa* variety of the elephants. Prof. Shamshastry does not seem to be right when he states that elephants possessed of the characteristics of other beasts are intended to be stressed here.

(5) It would be necessary to draw the attention of the good students of Kauṭilya to the proper explanation of the term *Saṅkīrṇa* available to us in the commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 66.3. Hence the present author thinks it proper to quote the same[3] in the foot-note. This explanation from the pen of Bhaṭṭotpala simply means that the *Saṅkīrṇa* variety of elephants is possessed of the mixture of the traits of the three types of elephants—*Bhadra*, *Manda* and *mṛga*.

(6) This explanation of Bhaṭṭotpala can also be further supported by quoting[4] the *Budha-Bhūṣaṇam* 183b which also indicates that the *miśra* variety of elephants possesses the mixture of the qualities of all the elephants—*Bhadra*, *Manda* and *mṛga*—described above.

(7) One is also constrained to observe here that the suggestion of Prof. Kangle in treating *saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* as the description of a *mṛga* variety is also not convincing, since the learned Professor has not consulted the authority of Varāhamihira, his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala, and also the stanzas from the *Budha-Bhūṣaṇam* published by Prof. H. D. Velankar in the year 1926.

(8) Any good student of Sanskrit will observe here the significance of the expression *ca* which occurs after the two words *mṛgam* and *saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* in the text of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. The presence of the word *ca* further lends support to the four varieties of elephants intended to be stressed by Kauṭilya. It seems reasonable to observe here that the above mentioned two learned authorites on the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* have ignored the importance of the expression *ca* in the text of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*.

(9) It would be also interesting to consult the Sanskrit dictionaries like *Amarakośa*, *Śāśvata Kośa*, *Halāyudha Kośa* and *Medinī Kośa* for the varieties of elephants which must be at the back of the mind of Kauṭilya. From the authorities[5] of the Sanskrit dictionaries quoted in the foot-note, it would be fair to infer that they (the authors of the Sanskrit dictionaries) have introduced

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3 यथोक्तैर्यथानिर्दिष्टैश्चिह्नैर्लक्षणैर्भद्रमन्दमृगाणां संबन्धिभिर्ये व्यामिश्रै-
युक्तास्ते नागा गजाः सङ्कीर्णाः । भट्टोत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 66.3 (p. 730)

4 सर्वेषां लक्षणैः कैश्चिद्युक्तो मिश्रो भवेद्गजः । बुधभूषणम् 18[1] b.

5 1) भद्रो मन्दो मृगश्चेति विज्ञेयास्त्रिविधा गजाः । हलायुधकोश 215 (p. 26)
2) मृगः पशौ कुरङ्गे च करिनक्षत्रभेदयोः ।
अन्वेषणे च याञ्चायां मृगी तु वनितान्तरे ॥ मेदिनीकोश III. 16. (p. 3).

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mṛga as the variety of elephants, though on the word *Saṅkīrṇa* or *miśra* they seem to be rather silent. Possibly they have not consulted the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira.

In the light of the above discussion, the present author is inclined to agree with the Sanskrit commentator of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in treating *mṛga* and *saṅkīrṇaliṅgam* as the different varieties of elephants.

In conclusion, the passage under discussion can be freely translated as below :

'In conformity with the appearance, he should give exercise to the *Bhadra* (elephant) and the *Manda* (elephant) and to the *mṛga* (elephant) and *Saṅkīrṇa* (elephant), in various types of work or in accordance with the season '.

It may be noted here that the *Saṁkīrṇa* elephant possesses the characteristic traits of *Bhadra*, *Manda* and *Mṛga*.

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THE VAIDIKA VYĀKARAṆA OF BHOJADEVA*

By

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Bhojadeva of Dhārā, the great emperor of the first half of the 11th century A.D., is credited with the authorship of about twenty-five works on such a wide range of subjects like Literature, Literary Criticism, Grammar, Nighaṇṭu, Dharmaśāstra, Astronomy and Astrology, Yoga, Āyurveda, Architecture and Sculpture, Philosophy, Archery and Music. As a royal patron he should have commanded the co-operation of scholars in various branches of Sanskrit studies, with whose help he wrote or caused to be written these important works.

In the branch of Sanskrit Grammar, he inaugurated, in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Vyākaraṇa), a new system over and above the systems of Sanskrit Grammar known to have been developed upto his time,[2] viz., the systems of Pāṇini, Candra, Vāmana, Śākaṭāyana, Kātantra, Jainendra, Buddhisāgara and others. His system is known as the Bhoja system.

The *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhojadeva, not to be confounded with its namesake in the branch of literary criticism or Alaṁkāra Śāstra, is one of the several recasts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, known so far. Several grammarians of the post-Pāṇinian period imitated Pāṇini and prepared their own rules of grammar and arranged them in their own manner. Many of these attempts were with the obvious intention of making Pāṇini's grammar easy. The system of Pāṇini was felt to be terse as it was brief, and it was supplemented by Kātyāyana, Patañjali and other writers. Pāṇini himself adapted into his system certain texts, as for instance, the *Uṇādisūtras*, that were current in his days. He had referred to the *Gaṇapāṭha* and the *Dhātupāṭha* in his work itself. He had also given the rules of Vedic grammar and accent. Several writers attempted to simplify Sanskrit grammar and to that end wrote important treatises, each of which came to be regarded, in course of time, as endowed with a certain amount of authority and several treatises in the form of supplements and expositions came to be associated with each text. This process of development came to be known as Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.

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In his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, the Grammatical work, Bhojadeva seems to have wanted to incorporate into the text of the *sūtras* all the improvements and modifications to Pāṇini's Grammar suggested by Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi, Patañjali, Vāmana and Jayāditya and other writers. He wanted to cover both the grammar of the Classical as well as the Vedic Sanskrit. Into the body of the *sūtras*, he has incorporated the *Vārttikas*, the *Uṇādi-sūtras*, the *Gaṇapātha*, the *Paribhāṣās*, the *Phiṭ-sūtras*, and almost all the important additions found in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā* He has succeeded to a remarkable extent in this attempt.[4]

Bhojadeva's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa-vyākaraṇa* was followed up in his commentary, entitled "*Hṛdayahāriṇi*", by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa, and was given a really important status by later grammarians like author of *Daiva* and *Puruṣakāra*, that author of the *Prakriyā-sarvasva*, the author of the *Śabdasāmrājya*, and a host of other writers, including Mādhava, the author of the *Dhātuvṛtti* and Vardhamāna, the author of the *Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhi*.[5]

The Vedic Grammar of Bhojadeva, forms an integral part of this *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa-vyākaraṇa*, in which out of the eight *Adhyāyas* of the whole work, the last *Adhyāya* is exclusively devoted to the rules pertaining to the Vedic language and the accent in Sanskrit language covering both the *Laukika* and the *Vaidika* aspects of it. The eighth chapter is divided into four *Pdāas*. This Vedic Grammar is in the form of the *Sūtras*, about 818 in number, distributed as 174 in the First *Pāda*, 149 in the Second *Pāda*, 263 in the Third *Pāda* and 232 in the Fourth *Pāda*. This is perhaps the oldest extant, and hence the first, attempt at giving a wellknit compact Vedic Grammar, in contrast with the wellknown Pāṇinian method of interspersing the Vedic *Sūtras* into the body of the *Laukika* ones, mostly topic-wise and located mostly at the end of each topic or *Prakaraṇa*, irrespective of its being in any *Pāda* of any *Adhyāya*.

The first *sūtra* of the First *Pāda* of the Eighth *Adhyāya* of the SKB lays down the *Adhikāra* of *Bahulam* for this whole chapter.[6] It is followed by the rules regarding the *Pragṛhya Saṁjñā*, *Upasarga Saṁjñā*, *Gati Saṁjñā*, about *Kyac Pratyaya*, *Sip Pratyaya*, and the *Nipātana* of vocables having the first half beginning with usages like *Abhyutsādayām*, *Prajanayām*, etc. The fifteenth and the sixteenth *sūtras* deal with the application or otherwise of the *Caṅ Pratyaya*.[7] Then is taken up the topic of the *Pratyayas* like *Aṅ*, *Ak*, *Ādeśas* of *Śap* as *Luk* or *Ślu*, as *Śānac* and *Śāyac* and of *Kyap Pratyaya*. In the twenty-fourth *sūtra*, the *Nipātana* of Vedic usages like *Niṣṭarkya*, *Devahūya*, etc., is covered. It is then followed by the rules regarding the *Pratyayas* like *Iṭ Ciḥ*, *Ṇyuṭ*, *Viṭ*, *Ṇvin*, *Ḍas*, *Vic*, *Kvip*, *Kānac*, *Kvasu*, *Iṣṇuc* and *Ṣṇuḥ*, *Uḥ*, *Ghañ*, *Ac*, *Yuc*, *Luṅ*, *Laṅ*, *Liṭ*, *Leṭ*, *Tavai*, *Keṅ*, *Kenya*, *tvaṅ*, *ais*, etc., The two *sūtras* 53-54, mention the *Nipātana* of *Dṛśe*, *Vikhye*, *Priyai*, *Rohiṇyai*, *Avyathiṣyai*, etc. Next is taken up the prescrip-

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tions about *Tosun*, *Kasun*. In between comes the discussion about the *vibhaktis*, too, particularly about the *Tṛtīyā* and its options in the Brāhmaṇas, about the *Pūrvaval-liṅga* in the case of certain *Samāsas*, after which follows the prescriptions about the *Pratyayas* like *Uṇ*, *ṇyam*, *ikan*, *ṇi*, *tyap*, *ṭhan*, *mayaṭ*, *dha*, *yat*, *ṇyaṅ*, *yaṅ*, *ānaṅ*, *matup*, *tātil*, *cha*, *vatup*, *vini*, *sthal*, *an*, etc.

The Second *Pāda*, of the Eighth Adhyāya, commences with the *Dvitva Prakaraṇa*, followed by *Saṁprasāraṇa*, and various *Ādeśas* like *a to ec*, *śīrṣa* to *śiras*, *Avādeśa*, *Eñādeśa*, etc. The *Dīrgha Prakaraṇa*, included under the *Dvirvacana* is extended up to the 46th *sūtra*.[8] Then Bhoja has taken up the topics of *Ayādeśa*, *Ghi-ādeśa*, *Lyabādeśa*, *Yagāgama*, followed by *Nipātana* of words like *Iṣṭvīnam*, *Pitvi' am*, etc., *Anañādeśa*, *Nipātana* of vocables like *Grasita*, *skabhita* etc., *Lopa*, *Hrasva*, *It* etc. Then comes the *Nipātana* of *Durasyu*, *Draviṇasyu*, *Dādharti Dardhṛti*, the prescriptions of *Nuṭ* and *Tuṭ Āgamas*, *Mūrdhanyādeśa*, and the last *sūtra* is '*Dhātusthorubhyaḥ hanaḥ*' (8.2.149).

The Third *Pāda* and the Fourth *Pāda* of the Eighth *Adhyāya* deal with the discussion of Vedic accents. In the first nine *sūtras* of the Third *Pāda*, Bhojadeva has given various *Paribhāṣās* that play a vital part in deciding the *Svara*, i.e. the accent, in general. Thus, the first and the second *sūtras* take note of the importance of the *Sārvadhātuka-svara* and *Nañ-svara*, as also of the *Kṛt-svara*. The fourth *sūtra* notes the applicability of the prescriptions pertaining to the accents in the case of vowels only, while the consonants are to be treated as non-existing. The fifth *sūtra* lays down the general rule of there being only one *Udātta* in a *Pada*, wherein the rest syllables should be *Anudātta*. The prescription of *Udātta* begins with the tenth *sūtra*,[9] and lasts with the fifty-eighth one.[10] Then follows the prescription about the *Svarita* with its options in various instances. The *Ādi-udātta Prakaraṇa* starts with the sixty-third *sūtra*[11] and lasts till *sūtra* 106, after which a few *sūtras* treat of *Upottama Udātta*. From the *sūtra* 109 begins the *Phiṭ-sūtras*, and they end with the *sūtra* 196. Herein are found the prescriptions about *Ādyudātta*, *Antodātta*, *Antasvarita*, *Pūrva-udātta*, *Udātta* by *Paryāya*, *Anudātta*, etc. The *Anudātta Prakaraṇa* beginning with the *sūtra* 196, lasts till the *sūtra* 260, after which a few *sūtras* treat of the *Udātta* in some special cases.

The Fourth *Pāda*, of the Eighth *Adhyāya*, commences with the *Samāsānta Prakaraṇa*, wherein the accent prescribed is *Antodātta*. Then follows the topic of *Prakṛti-svara* right from the second *sūtra* and lasts till the *sūtra* 71. The *sūtra* 72 starts the topic of *Adyudātta* which continues upto the *sūtra* 105. Then follows the *Prakaraṇa* of *Antodātta* upto the *sūtra* 123. After that starts the topic pertaining to the *Udātta* on the initial syllable of the *Uttara pada*, which extends upto the *sūtra* 150. From *sūtra* 151, the *Prakṛti-vat* accent is prescribed till the *sūtra* 155. Then follows the topic of *Antodātta* again, from the *sūtra* 157

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onwards, upto the *sūtra* 223. The next three *sūtras* of this *Pāda*, deal with *Pluta-udātta* and *Anudātta-pluta*, followed by the topic of *Svarita-pluta* in the *sūtra* 228. The *Pāda* ends with miscellaneous topics in the last few *sūtras* upto the *sūtra* 232.

The above outline of the contents of the '*Vaidika Vyākaraṇa of Bhojadeva*' is based on the critical edition of the '*Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa Vyākaraṇa* of Bhojadeva', as edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani, and published by the University of Madras in 1937. The work has been published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, from time to time in separate volumes, covering mostly a single or a couple of *Adhyāyas* at a time, and the four volumes published so far cover the text upto the end of the Sixth *Adhyāya* only. The Ms. for the portion pertaining to the Seventh *Adhyāya* is preserved in the Adyar Sanskrit Mss. Library. The Director of the research institute there informed me, in reply to my query about the Ms. of the portion pertaining to the Eighth *Adhyāya*, that they have not got the Ms. for the same. Perhaps, the author of the *Hṛdayahāriṇī* commentary has left his work incomplete, obviously to the loss of the Vedic scholarship for future.

The comparison of so far published portion of the work in both these editions shows a considerable variance in readings of the *sūtras* as preserved by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa and the one critically edited by Dr. Chintamani. This holds good for the text of the *sūtras* pertaining to the Eighth *Adhyāya*, too. As per my own study of the problem, on the basis of a comparative study of the *sūtras* of Bhojadeva and the corresponding Pāṇinian *sūtras*,[11] I have found occasions on which the scribes of the respective Mss. utilised by Dr. Chintamani for his critical text have committed obvious mistakes, in misreading their *Ādarśas*. Further, if we rely upon the critical text of Dr. Chintamani, we have to presume that certain failings in the text of the *Sūtras* of Bhojadeva, at least of the Eighth *Adhyāya*, are those belonging to the author of the work, rather than to the scribes of the Mss. concerned.

Let us see a few specimens of such failings: The *sūtra* VIII. i. 11 of Bhojadeva reads as "*Nāmliṭe maṅe.*" As has been indicated by Dr. Chintamani, in Appendix I (p. 490), this *sūtra* is based on the Pāṇinian *sūtra* III. i. 42, split into three independent *sūtras*. The concerned Pāṇinian *sūtra* reads as "*Abhyutsādayām-prajanayāñ-cikayām-ramayām-akaḥ pāvayāṁkriyād-vidāmakrann-iti cchandasi*". Obviously, this Pāṇinian *sūtra* has nothing to do with the Bhojadeva's *sūtra* in question, because he has formulated the next two *sūtras* to cover all the vocables mentioned in the Pāṇinan *sūtra* quoted above. But if we look to the Pāṇinian *sūtra* III. i. 35 which reads "*Kas-pratyayāt ām a-mantre liṭi*", we get the clue, since Pāṇini has negated the use of '*AM*' with *Liṭ* in the case of *Mantras*. Thus, this *sūtra* being based on this Pāṇinian *sūtra*, the correct reading should be '*Mantre*' rather than '*Maṅe*' as accepted by Dr. Chintamani, naturally on the basis of the evidence of the Mss.

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There are a few instances in which Bhojadeva has formulated a new *sūtra* or adapted the Pāṇinian *sūtra* without incorporating the words implied therein by the *Anuvṛtti*. Such *sūtras* may be called *Pāṇinīya-sāpekṣa sūtras*. For instance, the SKB *sūtra* VIII. ii 67 reads as "*Lyapaḥ ktvā vā*". According to Dr. Cintamani, this *sūtra* is based on the Pāṇinian *sūtra* VII. i. 38, which reads "*Ktvāpi chandasi*". Now, in the Pāṇinian *sūtra* the *anuvṛtti* of the words "*Samāse'nañpūrve*" is expected from the previous *sūtra*. Bhojadeva has no such *sūtra* from which such an *anuvṛtti* can be deduced. It is, therefore, necessary that he should have mentioned these words specifically in the body of the *sūtra*. But he has failed to do so.

Unfortunately, since no Ms. of the commentary is preserved, as per the information obtained from the Adyar Sanskrit Mss. Library, we can get no help from the commentator for the proper understanding of the *sūtras*. We have, therefore, to look for the parallels in Pāṇini and his followers and search for the correct readings, for the missing portions of, or the whole, *sūtra*, and discover the precise reason why Bhoja modified a particular *sūtra* and for what reasons. This is one of the very important aspect of the research on this subject.[12]

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2. Op. cit., pp. x-xii.
3. Op. cit,, p. xi
4. Op. cit., p. xvi.
5. Op. cit., p. xiii.
6. *SKB*, VIII. i. 1: "*Bahulaṁ chandasi*".
7. *Ibid.*, VIII. i. 15: "*Guper luṅi caṅ vā*".
8. *Ibid.*, VIII. ii. 46: "*Ṣasurvanopadhāyāśśl suṭi*".
9. *Ibid.*, VIII. iii. 10: "*Yatrodāttalopas sa udāttaḥ*".
10. *Ibid.*, VIII. iii. 58: "*Nur vā*".
11. This study has been necessiated on my part during my task of correcting and checking the writings of my research student working on this topic.
12. My research student Prof. V. G. Shastry of the Arts College, Idar (North Gujarat) has taken up this study for his doctoral desertation, and his thesis has been approved for the Ph.D. degree of the Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, in March, 1989.

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THE KĀṀPULU—THE GUILD OF CULTIVATORS IN MEDIAEVAL ĀNDHRADEŚA

By

P. CHENNA REDDY*

The origin and antiquity of the corporate activity among the cultivators in India may be traced back to the Vedic period. The guild of cultivators finds its ancient sanction in Gautama, the earliest of the *Dharmasūtra* writers, who states that the cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans can lay down rules of conduct for their respective classes and that the king should give legal decisions, in respect of these classes, after having learnt the state of affairs from those who, in each case, have the competency to speak.[1] This clearly indicates that the cultivators became one of the most important of the occupational groups whose right to make laws for themselves received constitutional recognition even by the fifth century B.C.

The guild of cultivators was called the *Kāṁpulu*, in the time honoured tradition of naming the guild was constituted. The literal meaning of the word '*Kāṁpulu*' means 'protectors' or 'watchmen', but was generally used to mean the 'tillers of the soil'. At present, in the Andhra Pradesh, that section of the fourth caste whose traditional and hereditary profession had been cultivation of land are referred to as *Kāpulu*. These Kāpulu of the present day are generally found to belong to the Reddi community. The members of the *Kamma* or *Nāyudu* community whose hereditary profession had also been agriculture, are also included, sometimes, in the community of *Kāpulu*. But the other sections of the fourth caste like the potters, the oil-pressers, the weavers, the herdsmen, etc., even if they inherited cultivation of land as their profession are hardly referred to as belonging to the community of *Kāpulu*.[2]

The majority of the members of the cultivators' guild should have been from the fourth caste, as the number of persons from the other three castes who took to the tilling of the soil must have been relatively very small. The *Smṛti's*

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1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 234-37.

2 Ramachandra Rao, C. V., *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra* (A.D. 1038-1538) *under the Later Eastern Gangas and the Suryavamsa Gajapatis*, Nellore, 1976, pp. 208 ff.

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prescribe that the higher castes should take to the cultivation of land only as a last resort. But there is a clear epigraphic and literary evidence to show that at least a few members of the higher castes adopted agriculture as their profession.[3] Epigraphical evidence points out that Śūdras of any sub-sect, if they happened to be cultivators, became the members of the guild and took an active part in all its deliberations and corporate activities.[4]

The guild of cultivators, i.e., the *Kāṁpulu* and their organisational corporate activities are referred to in the inscriptions that are fonnd in several parts of Āndhradeśa. The Katukuru and Matedu inscriptions refer to *Nagaramu*, along with *Mahajanas, Kāṁpus, Balinjaśettis* as a corporate body in addition to the eighteen sects of *prajā*.[5] An inscription found at Inkiral in the Bhuvanagiri taluk of Nalgonda district gives us some interesting information regarding the corporate activities of the *Kāṁpulu*.[6] This record is dated in A D. 1292 and registers the grant to god Mallināthadeva by a certain Ellu-*rauta*. Here the procedure he adopted is interesting. He sent a word to all the *Kāṁpus* and *aśeṣa-prajā* of the three neighbouring villages. Having assembled them in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple, he bowed with the folded hands and requested them with all the politeness, probably to make a gift to the god. This shows the power and position enjoyed by the guild of cultivators along with the other corporate bodies in the local administration.[7]

A careful examination of the records of our period gives us an idea about their corporate activities. There is ample evidence to state that the *Kāṁpulu* of a village, together with their leaders, accept a money deposit in return for the responsibility of supplying oil for a perpetual lamp in a temple gifted by the devotees.[8] It is known from another epigraph that a certain *puravari* left a deposit of 3 *madas* with the *Kāṁpulu*, with the stipulation that for the interest on the 3 *madas*, the *Kāṁpulu* should see that the temple of Madhukeśvara was adorned with pennants, bells, peacock-feathers, etc. on the *Uttarāyaṇa-Sankrānti*.[9]

An inscription from Nellore, dated in A.D. 1257, throws lurid light on the organisation of this guild. It registers a gift of land to the local temple by the

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3 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

4 *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), Vols. IV, No. 934; V. Nos. 654, 1076, 1294.

5 Sreenivasachar, P. (Ed.), *Corpus Inscriptions in the Telangana District of Andhra Pradesh* (HAS, No. 19), Hyderabad, 1956, pp. 16, 146.

6 *Bharati.*, Jan. 1978, p. 40.

7 Sastry, P.V.P., *The Kakatiyas*, pp. 186 ff.

8 *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1051, 1029, 1350; X. No. 671.

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1029.

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cultivators of the Pedainādu, Perāttinādu, Mungalāratainādu, Kadaiyaśinganadu, Pūngainādu, Tongaipunulnādu, Chakalanādu and Pottapinādu of the Jayanagonda-chōla-mandalam. From this it appears that not only were the cultivators in each of the villages in this *mandala* organised into a distinct group but that all the village units were united in an ascending hierarchy of federations, with the village unit at the bottom, the *mandala* at the top and the *nadu* as the intermediary.[10]

Two inscriptions from the coastal Andhra region throw some welcome light on the membership of the guild and its method of functioning. In one of the inscriptions it is stated that *Kāmpulu* along with their chiefs of certain village located in *viṣaya* received 5 *madas* as deposit towards the supply of ghee for a perpetual lamp. It is stipulated in the inscription that the *Kāmpulu* of the entire village—*Kāmpulu-ūrimottamuna*–, should maintain the lamp.[11] About the significance of it Dr. C. V. Ramachandra Rao observes: "The Telugu phrase *Urimottamuna* is very significant in that it not only points that the *Kāmpulu* were to act as a corporate body, but also that all cultivators of the village were *ipso facto* members of the guild of *Kāmpulu*".[12] Another inscription records that a certain official entrusted the work of maintenance of a perpetual lamp to the *Kṛiṣvalāryas* (the cultivator gentlemen).[13] It has been suggested that "the honorific epithet *ārya* used with the *Kṛṣivalus* or cultivators points to the great respect in which the members of the cultivators' guild were held, even by the eminent officers of the state".[14]

It is very interesting to mention here that this guild is known as '*Chitameli*' or the plough in the southern districts of Āndharadeśa. In the neighbouring Tamil region this guild is referred to very often in the inscriptions as '*Chitramali Periyanattar*' or '*Periyanattavar*'.[15] Thus due to the influence of the practices of the neighbouring Tamil region this guild is found referred to in the Telugu inscriptions, particularly from the Nellore district, as '*Citrameli*'. An inscription found at Nellore, dated in A.D. 1197, refers to *Nellur-Citrameli*, i.e., the guild of cultivators having jurisdiction over the Nellore region.[16] It further records that the members of this guild pertaining to various territorial divisions assembled

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10 *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 55 (NDI).

11 *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1029.

12 Ramachandra Rao, C. V., *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

13 *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1097.

14 Ramachandra Rao, C. V., *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

15 Mahalingam, T. V., *Readings in South Indian History*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 105 ff.

16 *NDI*, Vol. II, 55, 75; *JAHRS*, XXV, p. 119.

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at *Citramelimaṇḍapa* in *Tirupparakadar-chitramēḷiviṇṇagar*, and made a grant. It is of absorbing interest to note that the name of venue and the place of venue of the assembly is suffixed with '*citrameli*'.[17]

The inscriptions found in the Tamil region give some additional information regarding the *Citramēḷi* guild. T. V. Mahalingam observes: "The term '*meli*' (*medi* in Telugu language) meaning plough and *Citrameli* meaning beautiful plough and that, therefore, the members of this organisation were essentially agriculturists probably known as *Vellalas*. Their connection with land and village is further borne out by a few other names by which they were known, such as *Bhūmiputtarār* and *Nāṭṭumakkaḷ*. It is of interest to note that some of the slabs or stones or plates on which their inscriptions are inscribed contain the sketches of the plough along with other figures such as the bull, serpent, drum, *pūrṇakumbha*, etc. Besides, some villages also came to be named either after the plough or the *Citrameḷi* organisation itself".[18] Besides having its own distinctive emblems and other paraphernalis as befitting its position and influence it had a *praśasti* or *meykīrti* of its own from the days of the Choḷa king Kuḷottunga III.[19]

The guild of agriculturists or cultivators is also referred to in the inscriptions of the Kanarese region. The Kukkanur inscription of A.D. 1143 registers a gift to the deity Totigēśvara by Gaḷēya. Three hundred as the favourite sons of the one thousand (*Mahajanas*) of the great *agrahāra* Kukkanur. The donors were a guild of agriculturists consisting of three hundred members. The numerical figure denotes either the actual or convential membership of this corporate body which is not familiarly known from other sources. This association was named evidently after the Kannada term '*gale*' meaning plough.[20]

An inscription found in the Ghanpur fort in the Mahabubnagar district, dated in A.D. 1494 record a land lease contract executed by a Mussalman chief Nizamul-mulk in favour of a merchant guild. A part of the Ghanpur area was leased to the merchants for cultivation.[21] This appears to be one of the latest references to the guild of agriculturists or cultivators.

Any amount of discussion on the guild of cultivators is not complete without a reference to the inscription of Ganapatideva found at Tripurantakam and

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17 *JAHRS*, Vol. XXV, p. 119.

18 Mahalingam, T. V., *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

19 *AR* 117 of 1900; *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 129.

20 Desai, P. B., *Select Stone Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad, 1962, No. 5, pp. 29 ff.

21 Sastry, P. V. P., *A Catalogue of Inscriptions copied upto 1964*, Hyderabad, 1965, No. 310, p. 141.

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dated in A.D. 1245.[22] It records the remission of a *suṅka* on 300 *perika* oxen in the town of Tripurāntaka which belonged to the temple. The *Kāṁpus* who own the oxen for hiring purpose were called *perika-vāru* and the oxen were called *perika edlu*. It seems that the oxen were used to carry free of hire, all the commodities required for the temple of Tripurāntaka. The *Kāṁpus* or the owners of oxen were also permitted to earn their livelihood by hiring out the oxen to the general traders. Any way this record bears a testimony to the prevailing custom in the period that some people lived on transportation business alone in the market towns and they were called *perika-vāru*. This sect of people were included in the list of eighteen castes as noticed in the Lepakshi copper plate grant of A.D. 1680 as *Perikal-ettuvāru*, who transport the *perikas* or packloads.[23] It is thus evident from this valuable piece of information that the guild of *Kāṁpulu* not only confined its activities to cultivation, production and the distribution of agricultural surplus but also transporting goods from one place to the other. The *Kāṁpulu* as the cultivators of the soil might be having a lot of cattle under their disposal and that they might have used the same for the productive means of transportation. Besides, the *Kāṁpulu* being the promoters of agriculture might have taken keen interest in improving cattle wealth. The successful exploitation of cattle wealth gave substantial stimulation for the development of agrarian economy. The agrarian economy in twin promoted money economy. This is very well attested by the coins issued by the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Vijayanagara emperors who ruled Āndhradeśa in the mediaeval period.

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22 *SII*, Vol. X, No. 304.

23 Sastry, P. V. P., *Op. cit.*, pp. 251. Mention may be made here to a reference to '*Uppu-perika*' *Kāmpulu* in one of the inscriptions of our period (SII, Vol. 328). It is evident from this the *Kāmpulu* apart from agriculture also engaged in trading in salt or transport salt from one place to another.

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IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL CHANGE ON SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF SAURASHTRA (KATHIAWAD, 1820-1947-A.D.)*

By

S. V. JANI†

The province of Kathiawad had its original name in the records of the Mughal empire of Delhi as Saurashtra or Sorath. The Marathas knew this region as Kathiawad (inhabited by the Kathis) and this practice was followed by the British in their turn.[1] Before independence, during the days of the British rule, the peninsula of Saurashtra presented a bewildering conglomeration of 222 big and small states comprising 14 salute—states, 17 nonsalute states and 191 other small states.[2] They enjoyed varying degrees of power and autonomy in respect of status, honours and privileges. All states did not possess uniform powers, some had unrestricted rights, some had limited powers and others again had not powers at all.[3] The peninsula of Kathiawad has an area of 23500 sq. miles and its population was about 36 lakhs.[4] In fact all the worst effects of political fragmentation were there. It was a picture of political fragmentation which can have few parallels in history.[5] It was more ' backward ' than any other part of India.[6]

In the latter half of the 18th Century, the Marathas supplanted the Mughals and every year Kathiawad was visited by Maratha force for the collection of tribute. The combined forces of the Gaekwad and the British headed respectively by Babaji Apaji and Col. Alexander Walker, the British Resident at Baroda, entered Kathiawad in August, 1807 and worked for the settlement which was finalised in May 1808. No fewer than 153 engagements were entered into with the various chiefs and princes in Kathiawad.[7]

The Walker settlement finally put an end to the distressing *mulukgiri* raids and also to a great extent to the internal disorder which had become endemic in Kathiadwad since the decline of the Mughals.[8] This settlement is important from the political as well as economic view point. Politically the internal wars between the states of Kathiawad came to a close and there was an end to the *Mulukgiri* expeditions of the Gaekwad. From economic viewpoint, the Gaekwad was given the guarantee to receive tributes regularly without any opposition.

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The immediate result of the Walker settlement was that Kathiawad became blesssed with peace such as the peninsula had not enjoyed for many years. The most important feature was the cessation of the annual march throughout the province of the Maratha *mulukgiri* army, which played more havoc than a flight of locusts would have done.[9] Thus the political shadow of British rule appeared on Kathiawad's door-steps in 1807.

In 1820, an agreement was entered into between the Gaekwad of Baroda and the East India Co. by which the British Government acquired supreme authority in Kathiawad. The British established the Agency in Kathiawad at Rajkot in 1820. Thus the year 1820 marks the beginning of new era in the political as well as social and economic life of Saurashtra. Politically it ensured to the chiefs of Kathiawad and their subjects a long spell of peaceful progress.[10] The establishment of the British supremacy in Kathiawad introduced new cultural patterns as well as the opportunity for increased contact with the world outside Saurashtra.[11] This had its impact on the society as well as economy of Saurashtra. As a result, attempts were made for reforms in various fields.

When the Britishers established their rule over Saurashtra in 1820, they looked upon this peninsula as an economic region rather than political one. The Britishers are traditionally traders. They were attracted to this region because it was a rich cotton-growing area. Before the establishment of their rule here they had sent Dr. Hove, a Polish scientist in 1787 to examine the prospects of cotton purchases from Saurashtra.[12] Thus the shadow of Britishers' economic interest had made its first appearance in 1787 with Dr. Hove's visit.[13]

British policy at first and until 1857, had very limited goals in Saurashtra i.e. to protect and facilitate the increasing cotton-trade, to suppress piracy, to gain trading rights in Kathiawad ports and to collect tribute. Col. Walker, at least in part, had achieved three major British goals-protection of trade, settlement of political and revenue authority and the assertion of British concepts of morality. These principles persisted as the core of British policy till 1947.[14]

During the fifty years of 1807-1857 A.D., the Britishers increased their cotton trade in Saurashtra many fold. But during this period they did not introduce important socio-economic changes. But the next sixty years (1857-1917) was a period in which important social and economic changes took place. Judiciary and education were the fields which were chosen first for the changes. As the political system of the states of Saurashtra was a system of boundary, disputes, murders, robbery, arson and self-outlawry, so a court of criminal Judicature for Saurashtra was established at Rajkot, the head quarter of British Agency, in 1931 for the trial of crimes committed by petty independent chiefs upon one other and by individuals too strong or influential to be punished by any of these petty chiefs.[15] This court was presided by the British political Agent.

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But the rudiments of the judicial system came into being in the states of Saurashtra after 1863 when R. H. Keatinge, the political Agent of Kathiawad from 1863-67, initiated some changes and classified the princely states in seven categories. The establishment of the Rajasthanik Court (presided over by an experienced British officer) in 1873 provided the girasias,[16] (holders of landed property under a chief) a peaceful device for the redress of their complaints,[17] and so it proved a great boon to them.

In the field of education the first Gujarati school was established at Rajkot in 1937. The political Agent Mr. Malet laid the foundation of the new education system in the peninsula in 1846. He received the support of the chiefs of Jamnagar, Junagadh, Dhrangadhra and also the Gaekwad of Baroda.[18] Col. Lang laid the foundation of female education in Saurashtra by opening a Girls' School at Rajkot in 1855 at his own cost. In the year 1865-66 only 24 new schools were opened and by 1891 all types of total 853 schools were established in Saurashtra besides a male and a female training college at Rajkot.[19] In 1853 Rajkot English School (afterwards known as Alfred High School), in which Gandhiji studied, was established.

The year 1870 A.D. marked the beginning of a new era in the history of this province, for in that year the Rajkumar College was opened and the most important beginning was made to train young chiefs and embryo rulers[20] for leadership in British specified patterns. During 10 years (1871-81) out of 24 princes admitted in this college 10 were from Saurashtra. It soon became the premier institution of its kind in Western India. What at first partook of the nature of an experiment became in few years a real factor in the advancement of the province. The Talukdari Garasia school, a school on the similar line of Rajkumar College was opened in 1881 at Wadhwan. It performed a great work of diffusing education among the sons of the Girasias who previously looked upon the acquiring of knowledge except that of fighting as an occupation scarcely worth even a thought.[22] Bhavnagar state was generally first in initiating improvements. It established Shamaldas Arts College (the first college in Saurashtra) at Bhavnagar in 1885 where Gandhiji had studied. In the same year at Rajkot Barton Female Training College was founded. The second college of Saurashtra, the Bahauddin College was established at Junagadh in 1897, while high schools in Junagadh and Porbandar were established in 1873 and 1887 respectively.

The location of the Agency H. O. at Rajkot made it the first centre of European styled medical institution i.e. Civil Hospital established by the British Govt. in 1836. Subsequently several states established dispensaries totalling to 72 in 1886. The graduation of T. S. Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal as a full-fledged fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons from Edinburgh was an important forward step in this direction.[22]

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According to Mr. A. K. Forbes, the acting Pol. Agent in Kathiawad in 1859-60, the Walker settlement was the fixing point in Kathiawad not only in political but also in social matters. Col. Walker played an important role in eradicating the female infanticide mostly prevalent in the Rajputs particularly the Jadejas. He got the bonds signed by the Jadeja chiefs renouncing this inhuman practice. A system of rewards for the preservation of daughters and donations to poor people in aid of marriages was also resorted to. By 1849 this inhuman custom of female infanticide was abolished by compromise, temptation or punitives teps.[23] Col. Walker, J. P. Willonghby, Col. Lang, Col. Jacob, Malet etc, played important role in eradicating this custom.[24]

As a result of the establishment of the British rule in Saurashtra, new social atmosphere was created by humanist reforms and new education Administrators like Bhavnagar's Diwan Gaurishanker Oza and Junagadh's Diwan Gokulji S. Zala besides Manishanker Kikani and Karsandas Mulji encouraged the social reform movement directly or indirectly.[25] The social reform movement of Saurashtra was some what late and slow also but it was not less important.

Swami Sahajanand (1781-1830) was the first to start this movement but without disturbing the traditional social structure. This movement was wide and it had its effect mainly on the lower strata of the society. The British officers also supported his reformist activities. A Nagar Brahmin of Junagadh and an officer at Rajkot in the British Agency, Mr. Manishanker J. Kikani (1822-1884) was the founder of the new reform movement in Saurashtra. He was against the child-marriage but he did not favour widow remarriage.[26] He started his work from Junagadh, the stronghold of the old traditions, by founding "Supanth Pravartak Mandali."

In 1855 "Saurashtra Vidya Vardhak Mandali" was established at Rajkot to propagate new social ideas. It discussed the social evils, blind-faiths etc. "*Saurashtra Darpan*" (started in 1863) and '*Vigyan Vikas*' (started in 1868) monthlies played important role in expanding new ideas. In 1874, Swami Dayanand Saraswati visited Rajkot and delivered 8 lectures which had a far-reaching effect. Arya Samaj was established at Rajkot also. In other cities the pace of reforms was slow. In Jamnagar Manoranjak Sabha and in Porbandar Subodh Prakash Debating Society were established.

The first widow re-marriage took place in Saurashtra in 1873. By 1881-82 similar events of re-marriages took place at Kutiana, Dhoraji, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Kundla etc. Some young people visited foreign countries like U.K. and other countries of Europe in spite of the social restrictions on visiting foreign country. It was the case with Gandhiji also.

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Maharaja Takhatsinhji of Bhavnagar (1869-1896) and Thakore Saheb Bhagwatsinhji of Gondal (1869-1944) and several Nagar Diwans of various states were pro-reformists but as the feudal values had their hold over the society the traditions were pre-dominant. So it was feared that a clash may take place between the reformists and the traditionalists. But the reformists under the leadership of M. J. Kikani believed that slow and steady wins the race and they were wise enough to be away from this clash. So they accepted only those western social ideas and values which did not come in clash with the traditional values of our society.

The western educated Chiefs of the states of Saurashtra gave importance to the development of agriculture because it was to benefit both the ruler and the farmer. The British Govt. also encouraged the Princes in this matter. So for the development of agriculture, the princes had taken various steps, e.g. establishment of model farms, use of new implements, good seed and fertilisers, steps to curb the famine, amelioration of agrarian indebtedness, reforms in the revenue system etc. Consequently the income of the concerned state as well as the farmers increased. Between 1870-74 the revenues of the states of Bhavnagar, Gondal and Morbi increased from Rs. 23, 14 and 8 lakhs in 1870 to 52, 23 and 14 lakhs in 1874 respectively. The improving financial position of the states made possible for the first time sustained expenditure on public works. Education was its main beneficiary.

In the whole of India, Bhavnagar state was the first to free the peasants from indebtedness by giving them cash money. The president of the Servants of India society Mr. Deodhar had written to Mr. P. D. Pattani, the Diwan of Bhavnagar, that ' it is not only thought-provoking but also an action compelling experiment very boldly undertaken and successfully carried out '. Mr. John De La Vallette wrote in ' *Asiatic Review* ' that ' the comprehensive nature of these agriculture reforms in Bhavnagar is bound to have salutory effect on the population of the state.[27]

Industrialisation of Kathiawad started late. But the first attempt was made by Bhavnagar state when in 1873 Steam Spinning and Weaving Co. was established due to the efforts of its Diwan Gaurishanker Oza and Mr. E. H. Percival. The cotton textile industry was the first industry in this region. In 1911 there were only 3 mills while in 1946 its number increased to 11 of which 3 were at Bhavnagar only. 11000 workers were employed in this industry.

The first cement factory of India was established at Porbandar in 1913 and the second at Dwarka in 1922. Match factory was started at Veraval in 1927 and by 1946 there were 11 match factories.

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After 1920 rapid industrial development took place. One factor that forced rulers for some changes was the freedom struggle also. The Viramgam customs cordon was removed in 1917. It also gave a sharp boost to trade. Moreover until 1920 ecological conditions were also not stable enough to permit the concentration of attention and capital on industrialisation. But by 1920 the major epidemics of plague and famine had abated. Moreover due to the works of the Indian National Congress many changes resulted e.g. relaxation of tariff regulations between Kathiawad and British India, Princes were forced to personal economics and extend greater rights to their subjects etc. The roads and railways were also constructed. The first railway was constructed in 1880 by Bhavnagar state from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan, the gate way to Saurashtra. By 1946 there was railway-line of 2235 kms. in Saurashtra. This transportation and communication infra-structure began to pay off soon.

The firms from outside began to inquire for establishing plants in Rajkot and other states of Saurashtra. The Chiefs also tried to provide climate favourable to business. In 1909 Bergmann and Hoffman, Bombay and London wrote to Rajkot and other native states proposing the establishment of a vegetable oil Mill. A ginning factory at Sardhar and a woolen mill at Rajkot was proposed in 1925-26. Behind the drive for the economic development of Rajkot stood Sir Lakhajiraj, a nationalist, friend of Gandhiji and an activist paternalistic ruler of Rajkot who had little confidence in the good will of the British.[28] He fostered the creation of a Chamber of Commerce and had asked that organisation to gather data on the ports of Saurashtra and on marketing possibilities for Rajkot manufactures. Afterwards Rajkot gradually developed as an island of cosmopolitan British Indian culture in princely Kathiawad.

Thus the modernisation soon acquired momentum in the princely states of Saurashtra as the Chiefs channelled their traditional rivalries into a scramble for development. This competitive spirit was a positive force for change. As Lord Mayo had put, 'the hours of conquest are over and the age of improvement has begun".[29]

Thus the establishment of the British Agency in Saurashtra in 1820-22 is a turning point in the history of Kathiawad. This political change had its impact on political, social and economic spheres. In political sphere, this change established law and order in place of chaos and disorder. During the British rule from 1820 to 1947, not a single battle was fought in this region. But its effects in social and economic spheres were very important. As a result of the establishment of the British rule the princes and the people of Kathiawad came in touch with the Britishers and as a result with the western civilisation. In social sphere the custom of female infanticide was abolished due to the attempts of the British

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officers. Some social evils were also removed. It brought a change in the mode of the life also. In economic sphere this ecomically backward region marched once again on the path of development. But as Prof. Romesh Dutt has remarked that the empire gave the people of India 'peace but not prosperity' the same can be applied to life of Saurashtra.

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Veda Prakash : Mahakavi Kālidāsasyopari Vedānām Prabhāvaḥ (Sanskrit)

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Wakankar, S. Y. : Śetarañjaraṅga of Devaśankar Vyāsa of Baroda

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Tripathi, Karunapati : Vedapurāṇayoḥ Savitṛtattvacintanam (Sanskrit)

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Chaubey, Akhilananda : Matthew Arnold and the Bhagavadgītā

Raghavachar, S. S. : Viśiṣṭadvaita—A Perspective

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Iyengar, A. Ramaswamy : Matter and Spiritual Quest—A Study in the Light of Rāmānuja's Gītābhāṣya

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Varadachari, V. : Aparyavasānavṛtti

[*The*] *Voice of Sankara, Adi Śankara, Advaita Research Centre, 26 College Road, Nungambakkam, Madras-600 006*

Vol. 14, No. 4, Feb. 1990

Jagadguru Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati: Āyurveda—the Science of Life
Shantha Kumari, B. R. : Advaita as Immanent Metaphysics
Balambramanian, R. : The Taittiriyopaniṣadbhāṣya of Śri Śaṅkara
Revathy, S. : The Doctrine of Māyā in Advaita Vedānta
Veezhinathan, N. : Interpretation of Vedāntic Texts
Kalyanasundara Shastri, V. R. : Justification for the Sublation of Perception by Scripture

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REVIEWS

The Wondrous Crest-Jewel in Performance, (Text and Translation of the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra with the production Manual from the Tradition of Kūṭiyāṭṭam Sanskrit Drama), Ed. by CLIFFORD REIS JONES, Introduction and Translation of *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* by V. RAGHAVAN, Translation of *Kramadīpikā* by D. LEELA A. NAMBUDRIPPAD and BETTY TRUE JONES, Pub. American Institute of Indian Studies, Delhi, 1984. Price: Rs. 100/-pp. i-xxiv + 1-269.

The book under review contains the text of the Sanskrit play, *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, by Śaktibhadra, edited and translated by V. Raghavan, his introduction and the English translation of its companion manual of production entitled *Kramadīpikā*, traditionally received by the Cākyārs of Kerala, by D. Leela A. Nambudrippad and Betty True Jones. *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* or the Wondrous Crest-Jewel is a play composed by Śaktibhadra, a ninth-century playwright which covers the epic story of Rāma from his arrival in the forest to his victory over Rāvaṇa and return to Ayodhyā with political orientation in tune with Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. It is the first of the three plays of the repertoire called *Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka*, a series of twenty-one acts, of which the other two are *Pratimā* and *Abhiṣeka*. Traditionally these three plays were performed in the temple for a year, preceding the coronation of the kings of Cochin. In Tamilnadu and Kerala this Sanskrit dramatic and theatrical tradition, popularly known as *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* has been prevailing for more than twenty-five centuries. This living tradition of the combination or together-ness of the Sanskrit-play and its supporting production manual, the complementality of theory and practice of the theatrical art, though preserved only in the South for historical reasons, may be prevalent throughout India in ancient times since *Kramadīpikā* refers to several other plays in the repertoire, such as, *Pratimā*, *Abhiṣeka*, *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa*, *Nāgānanda*, and *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. The thirteen Trivendrum plays ascribed to Bhāsa also point to the same direction. The production manuals deal, *inter-alia*, with typical observances and practices, relating to the presentation-technique, rituals, decoration of the stage, costumes and make-up etc. They contain technical terms, the interpretation of which needs the exploration of the oral instructions given in the circles of the choreographers. Several of such terms are difficult to translate and have to be explained in detail with the help of references to the living tradition. This complex task is accomplished in this work by providing a glossary of technical terms explaining them at great length. The visual presentation of *Kuri-s* of forehead-marks in outline will corroborate the point made above.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 38, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1989, Issue, pp. 335-352.

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The Smithsonian Institution initiated an important project for research and documentation of selected ritual art-forms as communication systems of traditional culture and brought to light this hitherto not so well-known mine of information with regard to the presentation technique of the Sanskrit-play.

This work marks a significant achievement in the field of Sanskrit-dramaturgy and is destined to occupy a place of pride in the literature on this subject. It is hoped that the American Institute of Indian Studies will bring out more or such literary gems to light.

Oriental Institute, R. T. Vyas
M. S. University of Baroda

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1. *Śrīmad Brahma-sūtrāṇubhāsyam* : Part III; Chapter II : Ed. SHRI GOSWAMI SHYAMA MANOHARLAL JI; V.S. 2045; pp. 73+451; Price: Not mentioned.
2. *Śrīmad Brahma-sūtrāṇubhāṣyam* : Part IV; Chapter II; Ed. SHRI GOSWAMI SHYAMA MANOHARLAL JI; V.S. 2044; pp. 92+518+Appendix pp. 29=12; Price : Not mentioned.

Shri Goswami Shyam Manoharlal Ji has rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Śuddhādvaitism by (re) publishing *du lux* editions of the works of Śrī Mahāprabhu Vallabhācārya (V.)... The works under review are the final two volumes of the project as far as V.'s works are concerned. I do not know why there was a change in the sequence of the publication of the volumes of the *Aṇu-Bhāṣya* (AB), as Chapter III, Part IV was published a year earlier than Chapter II of the AB. Hence, I did not notice Part IV of the AB, till the publication of Chapter II of the AB. I shall, however, review the Volumes as published in their chronological sequence of publication.

AB. PART IV (Chapter III)

The following are the most outstanding features of this Volume :

1. The title AṆU BHĀṢYA was supposed to indicate a summary or a digest of a bigger work of V. named by some as BṚHAD BHĀṢYA. But the publication of the block of a document in the hand-writing of V. himself stating that AṆU BHĀṢYA is the title of the work (his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra*) has settled finally the speculation about the title of the work.

2. The Table of Contents gives, *Sūtra* by *Sūtra*, the succinct summary of this chapter of the AB. as well as of the important points in the commentaries PRAKĀŚA and RAŚMI.

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3. Inclusion of the commentary of Kṛṣṇa-candra jī on *Guṇopasaṁhāra-pāda-vivaraṇa*. Kṛṣṇa-candra jī was the *Guru* of Śrī Puruṣottama Jī. Out of respect to his *Guru*, Puruṣottama Jī incorporated it *in toto* in his Com. *Prakāśa* on that *Adhikaraṇa*.

4. A biographical sketch of the original editor Mool Chandraji Teliwala along with his photograph.

5. A photograph of Śrī Dīkṣita Mahārāja, the founder of Vallabh Vidyapeeth and Vitthaleśa Prabhu Charaṇāśrama Trust.

6. Last but very important is the thought-provoking, profusely documented Introduction by the learned editor.

The present Chapter of the AB. deals with the various accessories required for the attainment of the Brahman. There are a few interesting points which may be recommended for the perusal of the readers :

1. The existence of *YAMA MĀRGA* in addition to the usual *Arcir Mārga* and *Dhūmra Mārga* [pp. 51-55]

2. Reconciliation of contradictory attributes such as *Sākāratā* (Corporal aspect) and *Nirākāratā* (Formlessness) etc. [pp. 137-150]

3. Superiority of *Bhakti* (Devotion) to *Jñāna* (Knowledge) and *Karman* (Ritualistic acts) [pp. 319-330, In fact pp. 315-351 deserve perusal.]

But before one tries to read the text, I would like to recommend the present editor's learned yet lucid Introduction in which the editor elucidates fundamental tenets of this Śuddhāvaita school such as : the Reality of the world, (as against Śaṅkara's views), the nature of the Brahman, efficacy of Bhakti, The *Maryādā Mārga* and the *Puṣṭi Mārga*.

AB. PART IV (Chapter II)

The next and the last volume of the project consists of the refutations of the doctrines of other schools of Philosophy such as the *Prakṛti Vāda* (Doctrine re : Prakṛti) and other tenets of the Sāṅkhyas, the Atomic Theory of Kaṇāda, (i.e. the Vaiśeṣika school) the *Kṣaṇa Vāda* (the Doctrine of Momentariness), the *Vijñāna Vāda*, and the *Śūnya Vāda* of the Buddhists, the *Syādvāda* of Jains, the *Īśvara Vāda* of Naiyāyikas, and the *Vyūha* theory of Pāñcarātrins. It further discusses the relation of the Jīva to the Brahman.

As in the previous Volume, the Table of Contents gives in brief *Sūtra* by *Sūtra*, summary of the AB. as well as those of the commentaries *Prakāśa* and *Raśmi*. It is useful both as an introduction and for recapitulation.

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In the Introduction, the editor traces the evolution of Śuddhādvaita thought in the pre-Vallabha period in the *Vārtikas* of Kātyāyana, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali *Raghu-Vaṁśa* and *Kumāra-Saṁbhava* of Kālidāsa to mention a few. When V. himself attributes the theory in *Brahma Sūtra* III. 2.29 regarding the relation between individual Self and the Universal Self to Kāśakṛtsna, the editor is justified in tracing some concepts of V. to some other authors or schools. In conclusion, he establishes that the Brahman is real and so is the world.

While reading V.'s concept of the Brahman, I was struck with the similarity between the Śiva concept of 'Śuddha Śaivas' of Golakī Maṭha and that of V.'s concept of the same about the five functions of the Ultimate reality (call it the Brahman, Viṣṇu or Śiva), the reality of the world. Historically, the Śaiva teachers of the Golakī Maṭha established themselves in Andhra in the Pre-Kākatī Gaṇapati Deva period. King Gaṇapati Deva gave them support and the branches of the Maṭha spread over Andhra. It is not improbable that Vaiṣṇava teachers in Andhra came in contact with them and accepted some of their views, as has been the case with all schools of Indian philosophy in their mutual controversies.

I am eagerly waiting for the publication of the new book on Śuddhādvaitism promised by the editor. In the interest of non-Sanskrit-knowing readers, I would request the editor to relegate Sk. quotations to the footnotes giving the translation or the gist of the quotation in the regular running Hindi text.

Kudos to Shri Gosvami Śyama Manohar Ji for bringing out such an excellent edition of the *Aṇu Bhāṣya* with two authoritative commentaries and an illuminating Introduction to each Volume.

Now that the Sk Text of the *Aṇu Bhāṣya* is available after such a long period, it is for some other Śuddhādvaita scholar to come forward with an authoritative translation (preferably in English) for the spread of the Gospel of Shri Vallabhācārya.

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G. V. Tagare

"*Rasikavinoda of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa*", Editor DR. UMA DESHPANDE, Shalākā Prakāshan, Andheri, Bombay-400 058, 1989, pages 150, 56+90, price Rs. 75/-

Dr. Uma Deshpande, Reader in Sanskrit, M. S. University of Baroda, has edited from the manuscript available in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, this play

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in Sanskrit named "*Rasikavinoda*" written by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa. Dr. Deshpande's work originally formed half the part of her doctoral Thesis. The other part, which constitutes another book, is published separately.

In this book she has given the Sanskrit text with English translation, with critical introduction of two chapters, two indices and two bibliographies. She has given Sanskrit rendering of the Prakṛit passages also.

Rasikavinoda is an allegorical play of the *troṭaka* type having five Acts in which divine and human characters participate. In this play, among the human, some are truly human beings (presented and mentioned but absent). But most of the others are personifications of virtues and vices, the latter constituting the bulk of the entire play. Of these also some are presented and others are simply mentioned.

The main theme of the play is presenting a scornful caricature of a person who is a skinflint, represented here by the personification of Adātṛguṇa. He is associated with a number of other personified vices like Apakīrti (his wife), Pāpa, Duṣṭa, Adharma, Asatya, Viśvāsaghāta, Fanda (Conspiracy), Fela (Hypocrisy), Dagā (Deceipt) and host of others. Though these are depicted as different personified vices as characters, they all are shown to be taking refuge in an actual historical person namely Puruṣottama. This person happens to be the brother of Rasikadāsa, Bhagavaddāsa and Dayāludāsa. They are born in a reputed family of philanthropists. These persons are the patrons of the author of the play—Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa. At their behest, as the *Sūtradhāra* suggests, this play is performed. It is to entertain them, especially Rasikadāsa, the eldest of the brothers, that the play appears to be written. These brothers-excluding Puruṣottama—are eulogised by the author. They are the repositories of the best moral virtues.

The family of the patrons is hereditarily devoted to Śrī Gokulanāthajī, grandson of Śrī Vallabhācārya. Gokulanāthaji himself was a great and constructive exponent of his grand father's *Puṣṭimārga* and *Śuddhādvaita* to which reference is made in this play. The author also as a follower of the system makes use of Gokulanātha's teaching which has influenced the family of Rasikadāsa. This teaching is of *rasamārga* as the Ultimate Reality is essentially *rasātmaka*. Because of this teaching Gokulanātha is known as *Rasika* and was looked upon as Kṛṣṇa incarnate himself.

The title of the play '*Rasikavinoda*' is very significant. As Dr. Deshpande points out, it may be interpreted as entertainment of the common *rasika*, of the patron Rasika, or of Gokulanātha as *Rasika* as Śrīkṛṣṇa Himself. She prefers the third interpretation. But my impression is that the title is apt as richly suggestive of all these interpretations which may simultaneously be accepted.

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The author has perhaps deliberately used it to suggest all these nuances. But if it is a question of preference, I am inclined to accept the second interpretation. The author is all praise for his patron Rasikadāsa, as the abode of all virtues and verily the incarnate of *dharma* a d excelling the king Bhoja ! He is the greatest giver of charities as opposed to his brother Puruṣottama on whom all censure is showered by the playright. Rasikadāsa is mentioned quite often throughout the play. In comparison, Gokulanātha, though great in his own times, and though he has an important place in influencing the ancestors of Rasikadāsa, does not hold the central position at all in this play. His teaching receives a scanty reference only.

Howsoever strange it may appear *Adātṛguṇa* is the central figure, as if that of the hero of the play Being driven out by Rasikadāsa, along with his wife and other evil associates, he is in search of a refuge. He approaches foresters hunters and fishermen, all of whom turn down his requests. Though the help of gods, especially Brahmā, the Creator, has as it were already produced Puruṣottama as the safest place for *Adātṛguṇa* to stay permanently along with all his family and friends. Thus *Adātṛguṇa* is successful in his mission. He is the central figure through whom Puruṣottama is suggestively caricatured as *Puruṣādhama*. In fact, this is the *Viḍaṁbana* as the playright describes his play in the introduction as also in the end. *Sūtradhāra* himself refers to this *adātṛviḍaṁbanena rasikavinodākhyam nāṭakam*. In the colophon in the end also is said, *adātṛviḍambanam troṭakam samāptam*.

Indeed this is all the theme and the plot of this short play of forty pages printed thinly. It is essentially a morality play', like '*Everyman*', '*Mankind*', or '*Wisdam*', in the west, as the editor points out. Such plays do not have much of a performance value. They are not *darśanīya* but *śravaṇīya* only, of course when actually played before congenial chosen audience they may serve its avowed purpose. The present play does not have much of a dramatic value in the absence of an absorbing plot or action. Imagine for instance, one character (e.g. here Tuṣṭānana) making an elaborate versified narration of the ancestral history of Rasikadāsa, and the other one (Paḍmāsya) only listening, and intermitently asking 'what then ?' (*tatastaḥ*) for about ten times. This is the structure of the most important second Act which is the biggest, consisting of sixteen pages out of the total forty. It contains thirty six out of the total sixty one verses in the play.

To a certain extent, it appears to me, that the play is written in bad taste. The playright in the zest for pleasing his patron (or patrons) makes a mockery of his younger brother. That is one thing. Another thing, perhaps worse, is that Rasikadāsa who is depicted as virtue-incarnate, allows to enjoy himself at the cost of his younger brother's defective nature. Indeed this is the caricature

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of Rasikadāsa's goodness ! Inadvertently (if at all) both the playright and his patron come to be belittled. Puruṣottama is described as a wretched conch (*lapodābja*), poison from the ocean (*jaladhergaralam*,) mud in the family (*kulasya paṅka*) and what not. While the rest of the family members are gems in the ocean. Could it be regarded as a healthy and spotless entertainment of the genuinely good and righteous persons ?

B t it must be said to the credit of the playright that he exhibits high poetical talent. He writes in pleasant and lucid *vaidarbhi* style. His verses are composed in different metres and make a happy reading or hearing. They are full of various figures of speech. I wish the editor could have brought out the beauty of this excellent poetry. One wishes the poet could have written on better subjects, having lasting values. But nothing more is known of this poet.

Dr. Deshpande has served Sanskrit literature by bringing out this play from the pen of a Gujarati poet Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa who lived by the end of 17th and beginning of the 18th century. She has brought out the literary and linguistic peculiarities wherein Gujarati, Persian and Arabic words are used along with Sanskrit. She has written two chapters on the author and Gokulanāthaji. Some notes could have been written on Sthambha, Bhānupura, Bhṛgupura, Maṇḍapa-durga, Vāstu, and any real history of the family of Amātya if anywhere available.

In addition to the ' Errata ' I have found some other mistakes in printing and some are of commissions and omissions in translations. But they are minor. A diligent reader can find and correct them. But, I would like to draw attention to a few translations—

p 48. चिन्तां नाट्यसि is translated as, Gesticulates anxiously, correct would be, Gesticulates anxiety.

p. 50. अब्धेरिव—इव remains untranslated.

p. 54. लब्ध्वा is mistaken as लब्धुं.

p. 66. जन्मान्तर is mistaken as वर्षान्तर.

p. 32. अनवासवासः is translated as ' found in any other place, ' correct would be. ' not finding a place or residence.'

p. 8. साष्टाङ्गं प्रणमति and *p. 6.* शिरोनतिं विधाय are translated as ' bowing ' and ' bowing down ' respectively, while the former should be ' lying prostrate. '

(a note on ' *sāṣṭāṅgam* ' is necessary for non-Indians)

Apart from this review, but as made to think by this review, I have two points to make for the consideration of the concerned in general.

The Sanskrit manuscript is edited and translated in English, and its review would appear in the Journal of English medium. It will be read in India and

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abroad. But those Indians who are interested in Sanskrit, but do not understand English, will not get the benefit of this publication, and will remain ignorant about what goes on in Sanskrit literature. This situation needs to be mended, considering that more than forty two years have elapsed after independence, we must not close our thinking simply by saying that English is an international language. We ought not to turn our back against our own people.

Another point is that though each of the manuscript should be studied to know what is what, it does not mean that each one deserves to be published incurring a lot of expenditure. The study should be recognized properly and it should be preserved along with the original manuscript for the benefit of the scholars and researchers.

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A. G. JAVADEKAR

The Śāṅkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa (containing the original Sanskrit text with Hindi Translation, Introduction and appendices) edited and translated by Dr. GANGA SAGAR RAI; published by Ratna Publications, Varanasi, 1987; pp. 44 + 290; Price Rs. 100/-.

To every Veda is attached a Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas. To the Ṛgveda are attached the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana--Brāhmaṇa* also known as the *Kauṣitaki-Brāhmaṇa*. The latter has thirty chapters (*adhyāyas*) and is "of a more limited size . ... more harmonious, uniform and systematic in character and less discursive and descriptive in the treatment of its subjects than the companion text" (*i e. Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, bracket ours) (Gonda Jan, *A History of Indian Literature, Vedic Literature*, Vol. I, Fasc. I, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 346; for details *vide ibid*, pp. 346-347).

There are some editions and translations of the *Śāṅkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa* as well as some papers and a cultural study on it (*vide* Dandekar R. N., *Vedic Bibliography*, Vols. I-IV relevant pages) and the present edition is a welcome addition to the literature on it.

The present edition contains "the critically constituted text and its fairly lucid Hindi translation" (*ibid*, p. 6). It has a "Foreward" in English and in Hindi by Padmabhūṣaṇa Professor R. N. Dandekar, who gives very useful information about the work done on the *Śāṅkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa*. This is followed by the "*Prāstāvika*" by Padmabhūṣaṇa Ācārya Pattabhirama Shastri and a note entitled "ब्राह्मणसाहित्यस्य महिमा" by Padmabhūṣana Ācārya Baladeva Upadhyaya.

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Thereafter is given the "*Nivedana*" and a detailed "*Bhūmikā*" by Dr. Rai. The present edition has two useful appendices: (i) *Nāmādyanukramaṇikā* and (ii) *Pratīka-mantra-sūci*.

The book is neatly printed. The Hindi translation given below the Sanskrit text is lucid and this conjoint facility makes the reading and consultation easier and pleasant. In the Hindi translation Dr. Rai has identified the citations in the text.

Dr. Rai deserves our heartiest congratulations for giving us this learned and very useful edition. The publisher also deserves our congratulations for publishing this edition with a nice and sober get-up.

It is hoped and wished that the present edition will find its place in the libraries of the universities, colleges and Indological research institutes. Let us wish to have many more learned publications in the field of Vedic studies from Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai in the years to come.

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Study of the Psychological foundation of the Free Progress System—by Dr. Chandrakant P. Patel, published by Sri Aurovindo Study Circle, Bokhira, Porbandar, 1986, pp. 290, Price Rs. 70.

This book which is the Ph.D. Thesis submitted in Saurashtra University by Dr. Chandrakant P. Patel, is a well studied work of the innovation in the educational field in Sri Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry. The author is himself a Teacher of Psychology for last three decades in a college in Porbandar in Saurashtra and has visited the Centre of Advanced study in the Ashram number of times as well as the Ashram in Pondicherry.

The book consists of nine chapters dealing with various topics of Education, Psychology and Philosophy. Such thesis is unique in the sense that quite rarely the interdisciplinary approach is undertaken in the field of Psychology and it is applied concretely in the field of Education. Dr. Patel has during his frequent visits to the centre of Free Progress System observed the harmony between internal psychological faculties of mind, Psychic Being and spirit as well as the Organisational matters of Primary, Secondary and Higher Education. In the Integral philosophy of Sri Aurobindo the aspiration of Human person to

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understand, educate, live and make progress towards Divine is comprehensive as well as integral. Just as no stage of human development is operating in one field alone but there is advancement in several areas and subjects simultaneously, similarly in the field of education, student desires to learn several subjects such as Mathematics, Physics, Literature, Music, Philosophy, Law, Arts, and Crafts at the same time.

It is in the background of Integral Educational philosophy and total aspiration of Human Person that the author has attempted to marshal data and build the new structure of learning and moulding of personality. In the third chapter of the work author has discussed how he attended the work-shop and has interviewed several teachers connected with the work of Free Progress system in the Ashram. He has prepared the scale as well as the Questionnaire for gathering information of students and their interests while studying in the Institution. In the integral educational approach it is the inward psychic turn of child and adolescent young person which selects the method and field of study and child spontaneously undertakes the attempt of learning. The fixing of Time-table, examination, instruction and assignment for sports and performing arts are matters of adjustment rather than of rigid announcement in Free Progress system. In this sense it is unique for it permits the self-discipline, knowledge and training of faculties of body, mind and Psychic being of the Individual.

In the fourth chapter the author has intensively elaborated the Integral psychology according to Sri Aurobindo. The nature of Subtle body, pure mind, dynamic mind, psychic personality and higher ranges of mind and other parts of inner personality have been discussed, their interrelationship are indicated. Modern naturalistic psychology is undergoing vast changes and shiftings as a result of several new data, facts, values and fields of human interpersonal research. Psychoanalysis, clinical psychology, Industrial psychology, social psychology, Para-psychology, Existential and Humanistic psychology have given sufficient evidences of new and radical inner valuational states of mind and spirit. The horizons and vistas of mind and Psyche are so rapidly changing and submitting their modulations before human consciousness that it is indeed difficult to cope up with their proper applications to education, Sociology and Culture. In the psychological, educational and Yogic aspects of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy this is being gradually applied and their results are observed on larger scale. Author has attempted to observe this application of inward states of vital, mental and Psychic being to several phases of maturity and realization.

It is in proper spirit of the nature of the subject undertaken that author writes at one place that ' It must be remembered here that to try to understand Sri Aurobindo and the Mother without practising them is something like searching

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the bright field with blind eyes.' Moreover the teachers who are imparting education in the centre are trained in philosophy and Yoga of Sri Aurobindo. They do not take any remuneration. Besides mental education, students are given ample opportunity to train their body, vital mind, subtle vital and psychic urge to develop them comprehensively. All in turn are brought under the regulation of Psychic being which is the centre of personality and self according to the teaching of Sri Aurobindo. The cognizance of Psychic being as pivotal principle guiding and governing body, vital and mind of individual is unique achievement of Educational philosophy of Sri Aurobindo.

Sensation, Nerves, brain, thinking, desire, ambition, and emotion are several instruments of receiving and transforming learning into knowledge, will and sentiment gathering the thread of Psychic and spiritual education. Man should not be trained in isolated aspect and instrument of knowledge and will. At the same time he should not be deprived of several opportunities of life, mind, spiritual training and education. The author has dealt with the topics such as the media of instruction, prizes, vacation, diploma, degrees and certificates and Day's routine of the student in the fifth chapter. In the sixth chapter the author has brought forward the subject of the psychological principles involved in various facets of the Free Progress system. In chapter seventh the question as to whether how far the Free progress system has fulfilled the expectations is tackled and this is done from the point of view of the researcher and its assessment is given. It is done from the point of view of the teachers in the Institution itself. As the aim of the educational psychology and philosophy is not piecemeal but synoptic the results are assessed from different angles of vital, bodily and intellectual aspects of personality. The aim of Sri Aurobindo's and the Mother's teaching is to change and transform the beings of individuals for the coming race of Gnostic Beings. It is with this vision that the students and learners are taught and trained. Education here is not shortened to the aim of degree, job or to money earning proposals but to train the soul for future orientation of becoming the active and genuine members of new society on the earth. In the centre of Education as well as in the Ashram care is being taken for bridging the gap between thinking, believing, desiring and actual living, learning and eventually harmonising several trends of life with actual working. This is the true aim of psychic and spiritual knowledge and life. It is to attune life and knowledge to the synthesising with the Divine Reality and Being.

In the Free Progress system students are given freedom to select subjects of different faculties and disciplines according to their interest and they are made to consult their teachers as and whom they intend to meet and discuss in the department. The principle of individual differences is taken into account and adequate facilities are made while arranging time-table. Students in the centre are given

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proper example of teachers who have dedicated themselves to self-knowledge, discipline and integral living. At the same time the factor of will and effort on the part of the individual is not lost sight of in the scheme of comprehensive plan and educational administration. The force and consciousness are driving elements moulding the endeavour of learning. Sri Aurobindo's philosophy paves the way for individual and cosmic evolution in which the spirit and multidimensional consciousness are determining and manifesting several material, vital, mental and higher elements of Reality. Matter and bodily functions are real parts of spiritual organism. In the total make-up of personality and Individuality bodily environment, beauty and transformation have equal value with spiritual change. Transfer of training, skill and learning contribute towards the subordinate instruments of vital and mental activity as well as compretence. In this scheme of education there is no discrimination between sex. The Mother says, ' Men's and women's bodies are equal so far as the capacity to take physical education and other programmes of it are concerned. So it is a prejudice to believe that woman needs a different programme of education.' The scheme provides equal opportunities to both the sexes.

In chapter IX the author has given ' Summary, conclusions and Recommendations ' in which he has surveyed Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, psychology, educational vision and he has provided the psychological principles which are involved in the Free progress system. He has laid down the specific principles found in physical, vital, psychic and integral education. He has kept in view while doing this the viewpoints of researcher, Teacher and the aspirant and quite often they are combined in one individual who is the key-stone of the system of integral education. In a country like ours wherein education was in the centre of manifold activities in individual and social life since ancient times ' *Pāṭhaśālā* ' was the diffussing centre in the towns and villages, we require such schemes which are experimenting and imparting integral education to our youth. As Dr. Indra Sen in the ' Foreword ' has pointed out that such a work is first of its kind in the area of education and psychology. We expect more of its kind from Dr. Patel in times to come.

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Visions of God—Narratives of Theophany in the Mahābhārata—by JAMES W. LAINE, Pub. : Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien, Sammlung De Nobili pp 1-304, Vienna, 1989, price-not given.

The book under review, takes up the narratives from the Mahābhārata in which the characters of the epic get the vision of gods, and by going through discussions and interpretations from various angles brings out the significance of such narratives. The author Mr. James W. Laine has taken great pains for years together to collect the information and data for the preparation of this book. He has actually worked in three continents for this viz. America, Europe and Asia i.e. in India.

This work is a study of narratives of theophany in the Mahābhārata, Arjuna's in 3. 38-42, 7.57, Gītā 11, Bhīma's in 3. 146-150; Yudhiṣṭhira's in 3. 297-298, Aśvatthāman's in 10. 6-7; Bhīṣma's in 12.51 Mārkaṇḍeya's in 3. 186-187; Nārada's in 12. 326, Upamanyu's in 13. 14-16; Uttaṅka's in 14. 52-54. Thus he has taken up theophanic narratives not only of the heroes of the epic, but also those of the seers. He has translated and interpreted each of these texts in light of current Mahābhārata criticism, with special attention given to the work of Georges Dumèzil, Madeleine Biardeau and Alf Hiltebeitel. In all he has fully, discussed such twelve narratives from the epic. The author has shown that there are certain common motifs in these narratives e.g. the initiation test, granting of boons, divine eyesight, eschatological or sacrificial symbolism. It should be noted that human tragedy and conflict being informed or resolved by contact with the divine is not present in all these narratives. Thus an apparent variety is visible in these narratives. The author has concieved four traditions viz. heroic-bardic, ascetic, devotional and brahmanic to account for the variety seen in these narratives.

From the point of view of narrative function the author classifies these narratives in three categories viz. (1) initiation visions of Pāṇḍavas, (2) Wartime visions and (3) Visions of seers. In the first category the visions of Arjuna, Bhīma and Yudhiṣṭhira are discussed, in the second category Arjuna's Viśvarūpadarśana, Aśvatthāman's vision of Śiva during his night raid on the Pāṇḍava camp, and Kṛṣṇa's appearance to Bhīṣma after the war are discussed and the third category includes Mārkaṇḍeya's vision of Viṣṇu during the cosmic dissolution and Nārada's vision of Nārāyaṇa on the Śvetadvīpa, and Uttāṅka and Upamanyu's visions.

Before concluding, the author has tried to compare the form of Hinduism as seen in these theophony-narratives with the contemporaneous literature of vision in the Hellenistic world, and he establishes that the religious thinkers of

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the West had analogous options to these which their Indian counterparts affirmed and enshrined. He believes that in christianity the gospels which became canonical, and the orthodox, creedal interpretations of those gospels, affirmed a view of Jesus which characterized the christian God-man as an epic savior, mediating two worlds, and not a docetic figure of pure divinity.

Within three chapt rs the narratives are taken up for discussion in the order of the three categories as shown above and as an appendix to each chapter the translations of the relevant portions of the text of the epic are given.

In chapter four entitled Traditions in the composition of the Theophany Narratives of the Mahābhārata, the traditions underlying these narratives are discussed. For this the author first selects some themes and motifs in these narratives viz. Viṣṇu-Śiva complemetarity, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, the royal avataric function, Eschatological imagery, sacrificial imagery, encounter with a divine parent of symbolic rel.tive, encounter with a disguised or unrecognised God, pilgrimage motifs, Tapas or praise in preparation for darśana, boons, divine eyesight, begging forgiveness at the sight of divine or supernal form, didactic discourse, inclusivism, sectarianism and relations to the Gītā. After discussing these topics, the author deduces four traditions for the composition of these narratives viz. ascetic tradition, and heroic tradition, bhakti tradition and brahmanic tradition. He discusses these traditions fully in this chapter and then goes on to discuss how these traditions caused such similar theophany-narratives in the Purāṇas and he points out the difference in the epic narratives and the Puranic ones showing mainly that in the latter the inclusivistic and universalistic tendency is more predominent wherein the god concerned is presented as the Supreme Deity, and they are specially of brahmanic character. The author discusses these Purāṇic narratives in the chapter—the Triumph of the Purāṇic. In the final chapter—Historical and Theological Reflections, the author discusses the theme of the Mahāyāna Buddhist text of Saddharma Puṇḍarīka and then he discusses the Hellenistic religion of Isis, the Egyptian Goddess. Then the author takes up the discussion of the gospels of Bible, specially those of John, Thomas, Daniel and Mathew to bring out how Jesus is presented in them.

This chapter very well brings out the contrast of these sources with the Indian sources as seen in the epic and the Purāṇas.

The book contains a bibliography, Introduction and indices which show the exemplary work done by the author in the preparation of this book. In these indices, he has given (i) index to Mahābhārata texts (ii) index of epitheta (iii) index to authors and (iv) general index.

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At the end it must be admitted that the author has taken great pains in the preparation of this book and he definitely deserves congratulations for giving a valuable contribution to the Epic studies.

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M. M. PATHAK

The Chronological Systems of Gujarat : by SMT. DR. BHARATI K. SHELAT, Published by Pranav K. Shelat, Ahmedabad, First Edition, 1987, PP. i-xvi + 1-403, Price Rs. 80-00.

The author has thrown beacon light on the problem of evolution of chronology in ancient India in the Introduction to her above mentioned book. She has rightly pointed out that—" People had primary knowledge about days, lunar months and luni-solar years from the very beginning of the Vedic age " and also that " It is known from references in the Vedic literature that Indian chronology in its primary stage has been in existence since more than 2000 years before the christian era ".

As observed by Prof. Dr. H. G. Shastri, Retd. Director, B. J. Institute, in his foreword to the above mentioned book :—" The adjustment of the system of lunar months to that of the solar year through the intercalation of thirteenth month at certain intervals as early as the Vedic age indicates an early advancement in chronological calculations in India. " The intercalations also imply suppressions of months and days etc. This book reflects that the author has meticulously studied the authentic documentary history of Gujarat available in the form of a large number of dated inscriptions and coins and literary evidence and has arrived at outstanding results. The author has left no stone unturned in collecting all available dates from the epigraphic and literary sources, and in studying the different chronological systems discerned in them. Her treatment of the available material is thoroughly scientific. This book throws a flood of welcome light on the interpretation of the vast epigraphical and literary data ranging from Mauryan period to the end of Solanki (i.e. Calukya) period covering a span of about 16 centuries (from circa 300 B.C. to 1304 A.D.). The author has taken great pains in arranging the inscriptions and other records under various categories and in highlighting their importance. The addition of Appendix I which contains the Data supplied by the Records Published Recently is of vital importance in making the study up to date. Similarly the importance

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of Appendix II which contains Original Dates with their Equivalents in Christian era can hardly be ignored. The rich bibliography at the end increases the value of the book to no small extent. The learned author deserves congratulations in so far as she has rendered a yeoman's service to the students of Indian history and culture by preparing this book. There is no doubt that this book will serve as a valuable reference book on the subject.

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Warfare for Wealth : (Ed.) RANABIR CHAKRAVARTI, Firma Klm Private Limited, Calcutta, 1986, pp. 250, Price : Rs. 185-00.

In this interesting work, the author has put together epigraphic data and made a detailed study from Vedic literature onwards to Kālidāsa's works in Sanskrit. In addition to these historical and local chronicles, dharmaśāstras are studied in detail. Relevant passages from Chinese, Persian, Greek, Arabic texts have been made use of. A large number of inscriptions and coins were critically studied. This all-India perspective, relating to ancient India is a bold attempt by the author.

The book, divided into eight chapters, apart from Introduction, and epilogue has analysed the economic factors that were the main motivation for warfare particularly in ancient India. The period covered is from Vedic age to 12th century A.D. The primary motives of man being dominated by an urge to survival and having survived, an urge to dominate over others.

In the first chapter entitled 'Clashes for Cattle', the author discusses the significance of the term *Gopati* in Ṛgveda, as literally meaning Lord of cattle, and the royal epithet, *Janasya Gopati*, making him protector of the *jana* or tribe, denoting that in a pastoral society, the leadership was based on cattle wealth. According to him, this royal epithet *Gopati* then evolved into *Bhūpati* and *Mahīpati*.

In the second chapter, he explains how the Vedic polity, centering around the *jana* gave way to *Janapada*, meaning how a populated territory came into existence. The political history of ancient India from the 6th century B.C. to 3rd

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century B.C. witnessed the transformation of the *Janapadas* into an empire. The *Mahājanapadas* paved the way for imperial glory, which resulted in the expansion at the cost of weaker neighbours. These aspects have been dealt with in detail.

In the third chapter, the influence of foreign invaders like Greeks, Parthians and Kushanas is dealt with. The trade and trade-routes covered by Romans and Greeks have been given special emphasis.

Economic gains of the Gupta conquests forms the theme of the fourth chapter. Here the interpretation of the author on the term '*Sarvadvipavāsi*,' in Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, is subject to comment upon. Only the island of Simhala is specified in the inscription and not Java, Sumatra and Khmer as the author has suggested (p. 132). By the expression '*sarvadvīpa*', Hariṣeṇa might be including the islands of Div, Goa etc. along the coasts.

The fifth chapter is based on the rivalries among regional powers. According to the author, after the fall of the Guptas in the last quarter of the sixth century, except the Colas, there is practically no major power. This statement is justified, that since military conquests could not be consolidated into a paramount position whether it was Pālas, Gurjaras or Rāṣṭrakūṭas who almost had endemic conflicts among them. The author has highlighted the Cola maritime activities, since they had turned the Bay of Bengal into a Cola lake.

In the sixth chapter, the theoretical treatises have been surveyed with main importance to *Arthaśāstra*. Kauṭilya prefers peace to war, when there is equal advancement in peace or war and lays down several forms of alliances. All the same the prospect of acquiring wealth appeared to be the foremost consideration to launch a campaign. The author concludes in the epilogue, that aggressive designs may be considered to have been guided, at least to a certain extent, by the prospect of financial gains out of existing major economic potentialities.

Apart from economic gains, there are other aspects on which wars were fought. These points have been missed by the author. The author has omitted certain episodes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa did not take place for economic reasons and so also between Krishna and Śiśupāla. Again Harshavardhana's war with Sasānka was one of taking revenge. Even the *Aśwamedha* and *Rājasūya yajñas* were all for prestige. It is just like people getting degrees not only for the sake of job, but also personal satisfaction. All persons do not try to acquire knowledge only for getting jobs. By the same way all wars are not waged mainly for acquiring wealth. There were other considerations also. Though these aspects have not been touched by the author, the book has been well-planned and well-presented, bringing out the

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concept of economic motivation, behind warfare from the Vedic age to the 12th century A.D. For this scholarly work giving an all-India perspective, the author has culled his facts from different types of sources, which is commendable. It is a useful contribution to understand certain aspects of political and economic history of ancient India.

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क्रो[1]शानां पञ्चशती षडशीत्यधिका भवेत्त्रिनवतिमिता ।
स्थितिपुटभेदनसङ्ख्या काशीकरवीरमध्यभागे स्यात् ॥ ७९२ ॥

तत्तद्देश[2]ग्रामस्थिताननात् ये मया श्रुताः क्रोशाः ।
उक्तास्ते यष्टीभिः करैश्च वाकैः कृतं गणनमेषाम् ॥ ७९३ ॥

ब्रह्मशिवविष्णुलोकात् निवृत्तिवत् दुःखदा परावृत्तिः ।
पुण्यप्राप्यायास्त्रिस्थल्या इति तां न वर्णयाम्यस्मि ॥ ७९४ ॥

अथ कवेराश्रयकथनम् ॥

श्रीमान्कौशिकगोत्रजः स्वशककृत् जित्वा भवान्या वरा-
दाप्रालेयनगात्त्रिसागरतटां तां क्ष्मां नृपत्वं द्विजात् ।
दध्रे यो यवनद्विपेषु हरितां राजन्यवंशाग्रणी-
रासीच्छत्रपतिः स्वयाचक[3]चयस्वर्द्रुः **शिवाजिर्नृपः** ॥ ७९५ ॥

यः[4] स्वस्योद्भवराधशुक्लहुतभुग्घस्रात्तुरङ्गाम्बुधि-
सङ्ख्याब्दस्थितशालिवाहनशके [5]**षट्गोऽक्षपृथ्वीमिते** ।
आनन्देऽपि च शुक्रशुक्लमदनाहे प्राप्य काशीस्थितात्
गागाभट्टत आप्लवं नृपपदे प्रावर्तयत् स्वं शकम् ॥ ७९६ ॥

स[6] तु **कोंकणगे रायरिनामनि दुर्गेऽवसत्** सुतौ तस्य ।
संबाजिर्ज्येष्ठोऽन्यो **राजारामा**ख्य आसतुः प्रबलौ ॥ ७९७ ॥

संबाजेस्तनयो बभूव सुयशाः **शाहुः** स **कृष्णानदीं**
सीमानं परिकल्प्य दक्षिणपयोध्यन्ते धरामण्डले ।
राजारामसुतं चकार नृपतिं कौबेरदिग्गान् च यः
प्रालेयाद्र्यवधिन् शशास विषयान् **सप्तर्षिदुर्गे** वसन् ॥ ७९८ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. no. 792 २ C. ग्रामीणमुखात for ग्रामस्थिताननात् ३ C. °निलिम्पद्रुः for °चयस्वर्द्रुः ४ C. omits vs. nos. 796-98 ५ Śaka 1596 = 1674 A.D. ६ C. has following two verses in place of vs. nos. 797-98

शाहुराजारामाख्यौ तत्सूनू विधाय सीमानम् ।
कृष्णासरितं तदुभयभागस्थाखिलधराधिपावास्ताम् ॥
उवास शाहुः सप्तर्षीदुर्गे राजधुरन्धरः ।
पन्नगालयदुर्गे तु राजारामोऽवसत्प्रभुः ॥

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राजारामसुतौ शिवाजिरिति विख्यातोऽग्रजोऽन्यो महान्
संबाजीत्यभिधान आसतुरिति द्वौ सार्वभौमौ तयोः ।
संबाजिः करवीरनामनि महालक्ष्म्यालये पत्तने
क्षेत्राणां प्रवरे स्थितोऽवनितलं पाति स्म तस्यात्मजः ॥ ७९९ ॥

देवीभक्तगणाग्रणीर्गुरुपदाम्भोजद्विरेफोऽनिशं
लक्ष्मीमूर्तिमती स्थिता सुनगरे यस्य द्विजाति[1]प्रियः ।
शौर्यौदार्यतिरस्कृतार्जुनबलिः संसारसक्तः परे
पुंस्यासक्तमना **विदेह**सदृशश्चासीच्छिवाजिर्नृपः ॥ ८०० ॥

संबाजिसंज्ञे प्रथमात्मजेऽस्य तु प्राप्ते द्युलोकं सहसा ततोऽवरे ।
शाहाजिसंज्ञे धरणीं प्रशासति ग्रन्थोद्यमोऽयं तु तदाश्रितस्य सन ॥ ८०१ ॥

अथ कवेः कुलवर्णनम् ।

श्रीमन्नृसिंहकुल[2]दैवत एतदुर्वी-
पालान्वयप्रवरतः शककृच्छिवाजेः ।
यो **जोशिराय**पदवीं समवाप काश्यां
सन्न्यासिलब्धगणपप्रतिमाप्रसादात् ॥ ८०२ ॥

यत्कोंकणेऽस्ति प्रथितं तु **सङ्गमे-**
श्वराख्यमत्यन्तसमृद्धिमत्पुरम् ।
तत्रत्य **कार्तान्तिक**वंशसागरात्
बल्लालसंज्ञोऽजनि यो द्विजाधिपः ॥ ८०३ ॥

यो दैवज्ञवरः [3]पुरदैवतमपि यस्य **जाख**[4]**माता**ख्यम् ।
सवदागरोपनामा **शाण्डिल्या**न्वयज इभमुखाराध्यः ॥ ८०४ ॥

तस्यात्मजास्तु बहवः प्रबभूवुरेषां
मध्ये सुधीर्**दशरथो** नृपमान्य आसीत् ।
चिन्तामणिः किल तदीयसुतेषु मुख्य-
श्चिन्तामणेरपचितिप्रवणोऽज्ञ आसीत् ॥ ८०५ ॥

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१ B. °प्रिया for °प्रियः २ C. °देवतावान् य एतद्राजान्वय° for दैवत.....पालान्वय°
३ C. ग्रामदेवता for पुरदैवतमपि ४ C. °माताख्या for °माताख्यम्

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बल्लालस्तस्य पुत्रोऽग्रज इतरसुतो **बाजिसंज्ञ**स्तयोस्तु
ज्येष्ठो **बल्लालनामा** नृपतिबहुमतो विद्वदालीषु मान्यः ।
बल्लालार्चैकतानो [1]नरहरिभजकः कोलदैत्यापहन्त्र्या
लक्ष्म्या भक्तः सुवक्ता भवदमलयशास्तस्य **पुत्रास्तु पञ्च** ॥ ८०६ ॥

विद्वान् दाता **रामचन्द्र**श्च राज्ञां [2]मान्यो दक्षोऽन्यस्तु **नारायणा**ख्यः ।
जीवो ज्योतिर्विद्वरो **राघवो**ऽन्यः काणादज्ञो **दाजि**संज्ञस्तथैकः ॥ ८०७ ॥

यस्तेषामवरो गजाननपदाम्भोजद्विरेफो महा-
लक्ष्मीध्यानपरो नृसिंहचरणासक्तः सदाचारवान् ।
स्वज्येष्ठात् प्रतिलब्धनाटकरसालङ्कारकाव्यादिकः
श्रीसिद्धेश्वरसूनुरामत इह प्राप्ताऽ**हिशास्त्रो** नतः ॥ ८०८ ॥

तेनेदं **दाजिसमभिधानेन** गतेन पित्र्यकार्यार्थम् ।
करवीरात् काशीं प्रति रचितं **चेतोविनोदनं** काव्यम् ॥ ८०९ ॥

शाके[3] **श्रीविक्रमस्याङ्कमुनिधृति**मिते वत्सरे चाधिमास-
द्वन्द्वान्तर्मार्गशीर्षक्षययुजि विजयाख्येऽधिकेषाख्यमासे ।
संसर्पाख्ये तु [4]कृष्णप्रतिपदि [5]वसुधाजे पुरारातिपुर्यां
काश्यां [6]गङ्गातटेऽग्नीश्वरसुरनिकटे काव्यमेतत् समाप्तम् ॥ ८१० ॥

श्रीशालिवाहनशकेऽम्बुधिवेदसप्त-
गोत्रामितें[7] पशुपतेः पुरि चित्रभानौ ।
अब्दे क्षयाधिकयुगाढ्य इदं सुकाव्यं
कृष्णाद्य आश्विनमले विरतिं प्रयातम् ॥ ८११ ॥

विश्वेश्वरो माधवधुण्डिराजौ गङ्गाभवानीमणिकर्णिकाश्च ।
काशीगुहे भैरवदण्डपाणी इत्येत एतेन भवन्तु तुष्टाः ॥ ८१२ ॥

नरसिंहः कुलदैवतमाराध्य इभाननो महालक्ष्मीः ।
करवीरस्था त्रिजगज्जननी तृप्यत्वनेन काव्येन ॥ ८१३ ॥

[8]**शके १७४५ सुभानौ मार्गशीर्षवद्यदशम्यां समाप्तिमगमत्** ॥

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१ C. नरहरिचरणाम्भोजभृङ्गो महालक्ष्मीभक्तः सत्यवक्ता for नरहरि.....सुवक्ता २ C. मान्योऽन्यो नारायणाख्यः प्रवीणः for मान्यो...ख्यः ३ V. S. 1879 ४ C. वद्य° for कृष्ण° ५ C. कुजवारे for वसुधाजे ६ C. पापैकवाश्यां सुरतटिनितटे for गङ्गा...निकटे ७ Śaka 1744 ८ C. संवत् १८७९ विजयसंवत्सरे शके १७४४ चित्रभानुसंवत्सरे आश्विनाधिककृष्णप्रतिपदि समाप्तम् ॥ छ ॥

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श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ **चेतोविनोद[न]शेषो**ऽयमारभ्यते ।

मथुरा[1]ऽयोध्यागण्डक्यादीनां वर्णनानुरक्तमनाः ।
चेतोविनोद[न]शेषं कुर्वे सिंहावलोकनन्यायात् ॥ १ ॥

अथ गण्डकीमार्गवर्णनम् ॥

गण्डक्यभिमुखगङ्गाया दक्षिणवामभागयोर्मिलिताः ।
या या महातटिन्यस्ताः कथयाम्यन्यलघुनदीभिः किम ॥ २ ॥

दक्षे तु कर्मनाशा **दुर्गावत्यथ** [2]**सुवर्णभद्रो**ऽस्मात् ।
पत्तनमग्रे तस्मान्मिलितास्ति पुनः पुना(नः) ततः **फल्गूः** ॥ ३ ॥

वामे **वरणा गोमत्य**पि मार्कण्डेय[3]सम्मुखं मिलिता ।
सरयूर्दर्दरसंज्ञे क्षेत्रे वाल्मीकिभृगुसमीपे स्यात् ॥ ४ ॥

[4]**घर्घरनदः स सरयूगौतमसविधेऽथ गण्डकीक्षेत्रे** ।
हरिहरसंज्ञे हरिहरसविधेऽन्यस्रोतसि द्युगङ्गायाः ॥ ५ ॥

[5]**अथ हरिहरक्षेत्रवर्णनम् ।**

हरिहरसंज्ञे क्षेत्रे जप्तं सुक्षेत्र उप्तमिव धान्यम् ।
बहु फलति यतस्तस्मिन्नासाते **हरिहरा**वभीप्सितदौ ॥ ६ ॥

अथ हरिहरवर्णनम् ।

द्वि[6]जाधिराजवाहावतंसौ भूतिविभूषितौ ।
उमाकान्तिसुमाकान्तं भजे [7]**हरिहरौ** सदा ॥ ७ ॥

अथ गण्डकीवर्णनम् ॥

[8]यस्याः श्रीविष्णुमातुर्हरिपदनखजा जाह्नवी नैव तुल्या
का वार्ताऽब्धेर्नदानां रविजनिविधुजामुख्यकानां नदीनाम् ।

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१ C. omits two sub-headings and vs. no. 1 २ C. शोणभद्रो° for सुवर्णभद्रो° ३ C. °सन्निधौ for °सम्मुखं ४ C. घर्घरसंज्ञः सरयूरपि गौतमसविधगण्डकीक्षेत्रे for घर्घर.....क्षेत्रे ५ C. omits sub-heading ६ See vs. no. 161 in the text. ७ C. हरहरी for हरिहरौ ८ C vs. no. 8 occurs after vs. no. 11

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किं चेयं जह्नुकन्या मिलितुमुपगता यान्तु यस्यां लघु स्वा-
न्यस्रोतो व्याजतः सम्मुखमभिपतितेवाऽवताद्गण्डकी सा ॥ ८ ॥

सावरणब्रह्माण्डानि यत् कचावटगतानि स तु यस्याः ।
जठरे हरिर्भवति तत्तुल्या नावरणवारिगङ्गापि ॥ ९ ॥

यद्वामाङ्घ्रिस्पर्शमात्रेण पूता गङ्गा लोकान् पावयत्येष विष्णुः ।
यस्यास्तुन्दे जायतेऽद्यापि तस्या वक्तुं [1]देवाः पूततां नैव शक्ताः ॥ १० ॥

श्री[2]**गण्डकी हरिः** श्री**गङ्गा हर** एतयोस्तु योगोऽयम् ।
हरिहरयोग इति द्योतयितुमिवैकत्र तौ स्थितौ तीरे ॥ ११ ॥

तावत्पापानि गर्जन्ति नृणां नैव विलोकिता ।
यावदुल्लोलकल्लोला **गण्डकी** पाप[3]खण्डिका ॥ १२ ॥

इति गण्डकीवर्णनम् ॥

गङ्गाकूलस्थितात् रम्यात्पत्तनादन्यपत्तनम् ।
गरिष्ठं नैव भूपृष्ठे यतोऽस्मिन् धनिनोऽखिलाः ॥ १३ ॥

का[4]श्या जलमार्गेण क्रोशशते भाति **गण्डकी**योगः ।
स्थलमार्गेणाशीतिक्रोशेष्विति किंवदन्त्यसौ लोके ॥ १४ ॥

इति गण्डकीप्रकरणम् ॥

अथ[था]योध्याप्रकरणम् ॥

अथायोध्यामार्गवर्णनम् ॥

काश्याः शिवपुष्पजवनपूर्वाणि पुराणि तु त्रिषण्णवसु ।
क्रमशोऽ**योध्यामार्गे** सरसी वापी च **गोमती** तेषु ॥ १५ ॥

[अथ[5]] गोमतीवर्णनम् ॥

गङ्गाम्भोमिश्रितजला चलद्वीचिश्च **गोमती** ।
अर्पयेत् स्नानकर्तारं स्वाद्वन्नधनगोमतीः ॥ १६ ॥

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१ C. पावित्र्यं सुरा अप्यशक्तः for देवाः.....शक्ताः २ C. omits vs. no 11. ३ C. °चण्डिका for °खण्डिका ४ C. omits vs. no. 14 and has the ending इति गण्डकीप्रकरणं after vs. no. 13 ५ C. omits sub-heading and vs. no. 16

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तस्मात्तु **सायगञो** दीर्घेषु नवस्वमुत्र कासारः ।
अवकेशियुतेषु नवसु **जलालपुर**मत्र सत्सरित्**तमसा** ॥ १७ ॥

[अथ] **तमसावर्णनम्** ॥

तमसामज्जनकर्तुर्हृदयं **तमसा** विमुच्यतेऽह्नाय ।
उदिते सति भगवति हरिदश्वे त्रिभुवनमिवाञ्जसा तमसा ॥ १८ ॥

तस्मात्**सहजातपुराकवरपुरे** मुनिषु तत्र [2]सा मध्ये ।
अम्[3](अं)**शीन**मतः सप्तसु काननसहितेषु तत्र सरसी स्यात् ॥ १९ ॥

मुनिषु **जलावदिगञोऽतोऽयोध्येषु**षु तयोश्च[4] **सरयूः** स्यात् ।
लघुतरुविपिनयुतेऽस्मिन्न[5]ध्वनि शैलति महातरुश्रेणिः ॥ २० ॥[6]

अथ अयोध्यावर्णनम् ॥

देवासुरैरयोध्या याऽ**योध्या**स्यां क्षणार्धमपि रामम् ।
शुचिहृदयो ध्यायति यो ध्यानैकज्ञेय[7]मटति मुक्तिं सः ॥ २१ ॥

यन्मध्यस्थितरामं रम्यारामं च चारुतररामम् ।
सरयूसरिदभिरामं **तत्साकेतं** नमामि शिरसाऽहम् ।

श्रीरामेति यदीयतारकमनुं पञ्चत्वकाले श्रुता-
वाख्यायोद्धरते शिवोऽपि मनुजान् **काश्या**मतः सोत्तमा ।
य[8]स्यां सोऽवसदीश्वरो रघुवरोऽतोऽसा**वयोध्या** न किं
काश्याः स्यादधिकेति मोक्षदपुरी प्राथम्यमस्या मतम् ॥ २३ ॥

सुगृहापणवर्त्मचत्वरा सुरनगरीसुषुमाविजित्वरा ।
स्वगतामृतदानसत्वरा विलसति **रामपुरी** विसृत्वरा ॥ २४ ॥

सरयूतीर्थे यस्यां **स्वर्गद्वाराख्यगोप्रतरसंज्ञे** ।
भातः **कोसलभूषा प्रमोदवन**संज्ञिका जयति पूः सा ॥ २५ ॥

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१ C. सहसा for अह्नाय २. C. तमस इव for सा मध्ये ३ C. आमशीन for अम्शीन ४ C. °स्तु for श्च ५ C. मार्गे for अध्वनि ६ C. adds the following vs. after this vs. वरणासयि गोमत्यहकुल्या तमसे भवति पूलयुता ।
काशीजलालपुरयोर्जवनपुरे खेटकाकवरपुरयोः ॥
७ C. अतति for अटति ८ C. रामोऽसौ जगदीश्वरो वसति यत्रा° for यस्यां . ... °वरोऽतो

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विष्णुर्वैवस्वतमनुस्थित्यर्थं विधिनार्थितः ।
वैकुण्ठस्थामदाद्यां ता**मयोध्यां** प्रणमाम्यहम् ॥ २६ ॥

अथ श्रीरामवर्णनम् ॥

कैलासाचलचालनामलयशाः प्रख्यातदोर्मण्डलो
देवेन्द्रादिसमस्तलोकनमितग्रीवो दशास्यः क्रुधा ।
कोदण्डच्युतबाणकाण्डघटणत्रुट्यच्छिरास्तत् क्षणा-
द्येनासीत् विहितः स मां **रघुपतिः** पायात् सदा विघ्नतः ॥ २७ ॥

भूत्वा कौसल्यायां दशरथनृपतेरमर्त्यकार्यार्थम् ।
विश्वामित्रस्य मखं ररक्ष यः सोऽवताज्जगद्**रामः** ॥ २८ ॥

कैशोर्येऽहन् ताटकां यः सुबाहुं मारीचाख्यं त्वाक्षिपत्सागरान्तः ।
योऽहल्यां चाजीवयच्चापमैशं भङ्क्त्वा लेभे जानकीं सोऽवतान्नः ॥ २९ ॥

भार्गवगर्वाचलशतकोटिः पितृवचनपालनाय वनम् ।
यातो विराधहन्ता सुग्रीवसखश्च वालिनाशकरः ॥ ३० ॥

अम्बुधिबन्धनकर्ता रावणकुलगहनविपिनदववह्निः ।
राज्ये बिभीषणं यो न्यवेशयत् भूमिजाग्निशुद्धिकरः ॥ ३१ ॥

योऽकार्षीत् निजराज्यं मिथ्यावादाज्जहौ वने सीताम् ।
राज्यं कुशे निवेश्यायोध्यां स्वर्गं निनाय सोऽवतु माम् ॥ ३२ ॥

यातु यातु चमूर्यातुधानराजस्य यातु सा ।
नाकं रणे शस्त्रहतेत्यहन् रामोऽवतात् स नः ॥ ३३ ॥

हंसालिशाखामृगनीलकण्ठैरासेवितं पत्रिशरासनाद्यैः ।
स्वर्णाऽलयाढ्यं **सरयूतटस्थं** फलप्रदं **रामवनं** भजामि ॥ ३४ ॥

सरुचिरधनुरिन्द्रनीलनीलो मुनिदहरस्थित उल्लसत्तडित्कः ।
नतभुवि करुणाम्बुपूरवर्षी शमयतु रामघनो मदीयतापम् ॥ ३५ ॥

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१ C. omits vs. nos. 26-36 २ C. has this vs. after vs. no. 34.
३ C. has this vs. after 38 ४ C. has this vs. after vs. no. 29

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मारुतिसुग्रीवाङ्गदनलनीलसुषेणजाम्बवत्प्रमुखैः ।
सीताशत्रुघ्नभरतसौमित्रिविभीषणैर्नुतं वन्दे ॥ ३६ ॥

मृतमपि विप्रकुमारं सञ्जीवयति स्म यः प्रतापेन ।
साकेतस्थितमीशं शिरसा के तं नमन्ति नो रामम् ॥ ३७ ॥

सीतावाडवहेतिश्लिष्टं करुणाम्बुपूर्णमतिनीलम् ।
श्री[1]सद्मवाहिनीश्रितमनिशं **श्रीराम**सागरं वन्दे ॥ ३८ ॥

योधा[2] यस्य वलीमुखा मुनिवधूजीवातुरङ्घ्रिकृपा-
पात्रं शत्रुसहोदरो यदभिधा पापैकविध्वंसिनी ।
जेयोऽयं दशकन्धरो जलनिधिर्बध्यः प्रदेया पुरी
लङ्कापालनमस्य यस्य जगतः कार्यं स **रामो**ऽवतात् ॥ ३९ ॥

त्व[3]महिविशेषे शेषे शेषे शेषे जगत्यपि हि शेषे ।
तन्नाशेऽपि ब्रह्मणि तिष्ठसि भगवन्नमोऽस्तु ते राम ॥ ४० ॥

मेघं विलोक्य लास्यं कुर्वाणं नीलकण्ठमवलोक्य ।
यो नीलकण्ठमेघं विनाश्य शीतां प्रदर्शयेत्यवदत् ॥ ४१ ॥

इति रामचन्द्रवर्णनम् ।

अथ सरयूवर्णनम् ॥

सीताजुष्टोभयतटदेशा या रामलक्ष्मणाढ्यजला ।
सरयूर्यज्ञविसरयूपाढ्यतटा सा सरित् जनानवतु ॥ ४२ ॥

यः क्षत्रान्वयजो भगीरथनृपः स स्वर्धुनीमानयत्
भूमौ तद्गुरुणा वशिष्टमुनिना नीताऽसि मातः पुनः ।
गङ्गा वामनवामपादनखजा त्वं विष्णुनेत्रोद्भवाऽ-
तः[4] साम्यं तव **जाह्नवि सरयु** नो बर्भर्ति वासिष्ठि(ष्ठी)सा ॥ ४३ ॥

मा[5]नसशुद्धिकरायां मानसजायां निमज्जति नरो यः ।
मानसमुन्नतिमान् स्यात् नाके मानसं समाप्नुयात् किमिह ॥ ४४ ॥

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१ C. °स्थान° for °सद्म° २ C. omits vs. 39 & adds vs. nos. 34, 29 & 35 here ३ C. omits vs. nos. 40-42 ४ C. त्वत्साम्यं सरयूरतः सुरधुनी बर्भर्ति वासिष्ठि न for °तः साम्यं.....सा. ५ C. omits vs. no. 44 and it occurs after vs. no. 47.

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गङ्गां धृत्वापि शम्भुः शिरसि न च यदा कण्ठगक्ष्वेडदाहो-
च्छित्तिं लेभे तदा श्रीरघुवरचरणौ संस्मरन् तां स लेभे ।
रामोऽसौ यत्र मङ्त्वा श्रमजनिततनूतापशान्तिं जगामै-
तस्याः साम्यं **सरैय्वा**स्तव सुरतटिनी सा कथं यातु मातः ॥ ४५ ॥

प्र[1]स्रावजोऽम्बुधिरयोग्यतमश्च पुंसा
त्वेकेन **घर्घरनदेन** च सङ्गतास्मि ।
गङ्गापि मज्जनकजेति विमृश्य मन्ये
गङ्गां [2]मिमील **सरयूर्न** महत्तयेति ॥ ४६ ॥

श्रीविष्णुनेत्रसलिलोद्भवमानसाद्या-
जातेत्यतः प्रकथिता हरिनेत्रजेति ।
या मानसोद्भववतीति च सा पुनातु
साकेतसीमविलसत्सलिला सरिन्माम् ॥ ४७ ॥[3]

इति सरयूवर्णनम् ॥

[अथ] नन्दिग्रामवर्णनम् ॥

यस्मिन् पुपूज रामागमनावधि रामपादुके भरतः ।
नन्दिग्रामः स सदा नन्दिग्रामोऽवनौ विजयतेऽत्र ॥ ४८ ॥

काश्ययोध्यामध्यगताः क्रोशाद्वा (द्वा)षष्टिसम्मिताः ।
नवस्युर्वसतिग्रामाः सेतून् तेषु स्थितान् ब्रुवे ॥ ४९ ॥

वरणासयिगोमत्यः कुल्याः तमसे भवन्ति सेतुयुताः ।
काशीजलालपुरयोर्जवनपुरे खेटकाकबरपुरयोः ॥ ५० ॥

इत्ययोध्याप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥ छ ॥

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१ C. उच्चार° for प्रस्राव° २ C. निमील्य for मिमील ३ C. inserts vs. no. 44 after this vs. and adds...इति अयोध्याप्रकरण समाप्तम् । शके १७४५ चैत्रकृष्ण-प्रतिपदि पुस्तकमिदं स्वीकृतं यस्तु तेन । गोपीनाथनाम्ना कर्वे इत्युपाख्येनेति ज्ञेयं सर्वैर्जनैः ।

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श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अथ मथुराप्रकरणम् ॥ अथ मथुरामार्गवर्णनम् ॥

अन्तर्वेदीसंस्थे मथुराध्वनि तु त्रिषु **प्रयागात्स्यात्** ।
बेगमसरायिरस्यां कूपोऽस्या दशसु **काकडावाजा** ॥ १ ॥

पङ्क्तिषु **हैमतगओ मण्डा कि सरायि**रित्यतो दशसु ।
एष्वपि कूपा अग्रे **मलवाख्यो** दशसु तत्र सरसी स्यात् ॥ २ ॥

तस्माच्छिवराजपुरं षट्सु क्रोशेषु तत्र **गङ्गा** स्यात् ॥

[अथ] शिवराजपुरवर्णनम् ॥

शिवराजपुरं मनोहरं गिरिधरमूर्तिविराजितं शुभम् ।
सुरराजपुरीव भासुरं सुरतटिनीतटगं नमाम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥

शिरसोलमतः पञ्चसु कूपोऽतो मुनिषु **कम्पु कानपुरम्** ॥

[अथ] कानपुरवर्णनम् ॥

सुरतटिनीतटसंस्थं धनधान्यसमृद्धिमत्सुशोभाढ्यम् ।
का न पुरं **कानपुरं** जनता दृष्ट्वाऽति विस्मिता भवति ॥ ४ ॥

दीर्घेष्वग्निषु तस्मात् **ब्रह्मावर्तं** तु **जाह्नवी** तत्र ॥

[अथ] ब्रह्मावर्तवर्णनम् ॥

यस्मिन् ब्रह्मावर्तते **जाह्नवी च ब्रह्मावर्तं** क्षेत्रराजे तु तस्मिन् ।
ब्रह्म ब्रह्मा वर्तते चेत् क्षणार्धं सद्यो ब्रह्माप्नोति नास्त्यत्र शङ्का ॥ ५ ॥

वाल्मीकिकपिलशोभितमुत्पलवनसंस्थितं महारम्यम् ।
ब्रह्मेश्वरेण जुष्टं **ब्रह्मावर्तं** विराजते क्षेत्रम् ॥ ६ ॥

सप्तसु दशसु पुराख्यो **मीरा कि सरायि**त्र कूपाः स्युः ॥

अथ शृङ्गवेरवर्णनम् ॥

अस्मान्मार्गाद्दक्षिणभागे द्वाद[श]सु **जाह्नवीतीरे** ।
स्यात् **शृङ्गवेरपत्तनमेनो** मान्दाग्न्यशृङ्गवेरं यत् ॥ ७ ॥

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तस्या**गुरु सायनबी** पूर्वौ **गञ्जौ** हयेषु दशसु स्तः ।
कूपा[:] स्युरत्र तस्मान्**मैनपुरी** योजनत्रये कूपः ॥ ८ ॥

अष्टसु ततो **धरोलं मखणपुरं** नवसु तत्र वाप्यः स्युः ।
तस्मादिद**मेलपुरं** नवसु **रवदोली** तु षट्सु वाप्योऽत्र ॥ ९ ॥

बलदेवं नवसु ततः कूपो बलदेवपूजनं तत्र ।
गोकुलमब्धिषु तस्मादब्धिषु **मथुरा**न्तरानयोर्**यमुना** ॥ १० ॥

अथ गोकुलवर्णनम् ॥

यद् गोकुलं वृक्षलतासमाकुलं ररक्ष यस्मिन् यदुराट् सुगोकुलम् ।
कूलेऽमले यच्छमनस्वसृस्थितं तन्मे कुलं पातु भवाम्बुराशेः ॥ ११ ॥

महावने नन्दवेक्ष्म यत्र भाति सुशोभितम् ।
ब्रह्माण्डचिन्ताहरणघाटौ भातो नमामि तत् ॥ १२ ॥

यत्रत्योऽणुरपि श्रीकृष्णरमणरेणुरभिपतेदङ्गे ।
यस्य स पटवासचिताङ्गं नृपतिं हसति तन्नमामि मुदा ॥ १३ ॥

पातालजलाः कूपा मृत्पुञ्जा ए[व] पर्वताश्चास्मिन् ।
अल्पसरस्के मार्गे सन्ति च सहकारशाखिनो बहुलाः ॥ १४ ॥

अथ मथुरावर्णनम् ॥

मधुरा मधुराजराजधानी मधुराकारनरान्विता च तस्याम् ।
निवसन्ति च ये क्षणं दिवं ते मधुरामानिरता अपि व्रजन्ति ॥ १५ ॥

माधवो माधवो मासे माधवे माधवीर्लताः ।
सेवामानो यत्र दिनान्यनयन्निमिषार्धवत् ॥ १६ ॥

यादवरूपा पापाटव्या यादवनिवासभूर्नगरी ।
ब्रह्मावर्तजनपदाभूषा **मथुरा** पुनातु सा लोकान् ॥ १७ ॥

अद्वितीयाऽपि द्वितीया पूर्षु या सप्तसु क्षितौ ।
विख्याता **मथुरा**ख्या सा पुरी जयति शोभना ॥ १८ ॥

ऋद्धापणा सत्पुरुषैकसेविता कलिन्दजातीरगतातिशोभना ।
समानरथ्या बहुसौधशालिनी श्रीकृष्णभूमिर्**मथुरा** वि[रा]जते ॥ १९ ॥

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भूतेशादिवराहादि केशवा दीर्घविष्णुरपि यस्याम् ।
विश्रान्तिस्थानमहाविद्ये स्तो भाति सा क्षितौ **मथुरा** ॥ २० ॥

अथ श्रीकृष्णवर्णनम् ॥

वसुदेवाद्देवक्यां भूत्वाऽव्राजीच्च गोकुले सपदि ।
नन्दयशोदासुत इति कथितोऽभूत् स पुनातु कृष्णो माम् ॥ २१ ॥

शकटतृणावर्तवृषभमुष्टिकचाणूरपूतना बाल्ये ।
हतवानपिबद्वह्निं यः कालीयदर्पहा नमस्तस्मै ॥ २२ ॥

गोपकिशोरैर्यो गोरक्षणमकरोच्च गोकुलेऽतिमुदा ।
श्रुतिरूपगोपिकाभिर्वृन्दावनभुव्यरंस्त तं नौमि ॥ २३ ॥

दातुं चैद्यायेप्सितां रुक्मिणा यो जित्वा सर्वान्वक्रदन्तादिशत्रून् ।
वेगेनागत्याहरद्रुक्मिणीं तं कृष्णं भक्त्या भक्तपालं नमामि ॥ २४ ॥

षोडशसहस्रकन्या अहरद्विनिहत्य भूमिजं नरकम् ।
यस्तं भजन्ति सततं ये ते पश्यान्ति नो नरा नरकम् ॥ २५ ॥

कंसं जघान जगृहेऽपि च जाम्बवन्तं ।
जित्वा स्यमन्तकमणिं सह जाम्बवत्या ।
सत्राजितश्च तनयां समवाप सत्यां
यः पारिजातमहरत्तमहं नमामि ॥ २६ ॥

भीमेन जरासन्धे मुचुकुन्देनाशु कालयवनमपि ।
यः पाण्डवैः कुरुनप्यजीघत्तत्तं नमामि गोविन्दम् ॥ २७ ॥

यो बलभद्रावरजो यश्च सुभद्राग्रजः स्वभक्तानाम् ।
भद्रायतनं तमिमं भजतां भद्रा न दोषकृद्भवति ॥ २८ ॥

अन्योन्यहस्तैः किल यादवान्खलान् यो घातयित्वा बलरामसंयुतः ।
वज्रे(व्रजे)स्वराज्यं विनिवेश्य चागमत्स्वधाम तस्मै हरये नमो नमः ॥ २९ ॥

यस्तु सहस्रार्जुनहा यमलार्जुनभञ्जकोऽर्जुनयशस्कः ।
अर्जुनशाखिवनस्थोऽपि च कृष्णः पातु योऽर्जुनसखः सः ॥ ३० ॥

अम्बरवितरणरक्षितकृष्णो यः कृष्णसारथिः कृष्णः ।
कृष्णतनुः कृष्णासरिदुद्भवहेतुः पुनातु मां स सदा ॥ ३१ ॥

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स्वपृष्ठधृतमन्दरं मदनसुन्दरं कन्दरा–
निवास्य वनसा दरं दरगदाब्जचक्रैर्युतम् ।
दरभ्रुकुटिवक्रतार्पितसुपर्वसंसद्दरं
पुरन्दरसहोदरं भजत मंक्षु दामोदरम् ॥ ३२ ॥

उररीचक्रे कुब्जामपि यो गोपीर्विहाय विदुरगृहे ।
हित्वा दुर्योधनमप्यभुङ्क्त तं भक्तवत्सलं नौमि ॥ ३३ ॥

न तु सङ्गरं करोम्यहमिति निजसङ्गरमपास्य योऽधावत् ।
शान्तनवोपरि जिष्णुत्राणार्थं भक्तवत्सलोऽवतु सः ॥ ३४ ॥

इति कृष्णवर्णनम् ॥

अथ यमुनावर्णनम् ॥

यमुना पूज्यैव तदपि मथुरासविधस्थितातिपूज्या स्यात् ।
दुग्धं स्वाद्वेव तथापि सितायोगान्न चातिमधुरं किम् ॥ ३५ ॥

गङ्गा हरिजाऽहमपि च सा गणपशिरःस्थिता न चाहमिति ।
यमुना मत्वेव गणपशिरःस्थिता मदङ्गरीमिषान्मन्ये ॥ ३६ ॥

भित्वा निजजनकमपि स्वस्नायिनरं तु गमयसि ब्रह्म ।
यमुने निजबन्धुभयात्तं मोचयसि त्वमत्र किं चित्रम् ॥ ३७ ॥

यस्यां कालभगिन्यां बहुकालं कालियोऽवसत्तस्याः ।
कालिन्द्याः कालाम्बोः (म्बुनः) सादृश्यं का लभेत जगति सरित् ॥ ३८ ॥

सरयूगण्डक्यादिकसरितां ये गङ्गया हि सम्भेदाः ।
ते तूत्तमतीर्थानि त्वत्सम्भेदस्तु तीर्थराजः स्यात् ॥ ३९ ॥

कंसं हत्वा यत्र कृष्णो विश्रान्तिं प्राप्तवान्पुरा ।
विश्रान्तिघाटोऽसौ भाति यमुनातीरसंस्थितः ॥ ४० ॥

इति यमुनावर्णनम् ॥

वृन्दावनमुत्तरतो मथुरायास्त्रिषु विभाति तस्याश्च ।
क्रोशेष्वष्टसु **गोवर्द्धनगिरि**र्भाति योजनायामः ॥ ४१ ॥

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अथ वृन्दावनवर्णनम् ॥

साधु वृन्दावनं यत्र चकार मधुसूदनः ।
वृन्दावनाख्यं तत्क्षेत्रं **कालिन्दी**तीरगं स्तुमः ॥ ४२ ॥

वंशीवटश्च **रासः कुञ्जवनं कालियह्रदो** यस्मिन् ।
बहुकृष्णप्रतिमाश्चिरघाटो **वृन्दावनं** सदावतु तत् ॥ ४३ ॥

[**इति वृन्दावनवर्णनम् ॥**]

अथ गोवर्द्धनवर्णनम् ॥

गोवर्द्धनं यत्र तृणादिभिर्हरिश्चकार यं हस्तकनिष्ठया दधौ ।
स्वमस्तके तत्पदलाञ्छितश्च यो **गोवर्द्धनाख्यो गिरिराट्** स राजते ॥ ४४ ॥

बहुनीलकण्ठजुष्टं हरिसेवितमिन्द्रनीलनीलशिलम् ।
नानानोकहवीरुद्युक्तं **गोवर्द्धनं** नमामि गिरिम् ॥ ४५ ॥

हरिदेवो बलदेवो मनसा देवी च यत्र **चक्रेशः** ।
मानसगङ्गा नानातीर्थानि वसन्ति पातु सोऽद्रिर्माम् ॥ ४६ ॥

इति गोवर्द्धनवर्णनम् ॥

अथ हरिद्वारवर्णनम् ॥

क्रोशशते मथुराया उत्तरतो वर्तते **हरिद्वारम्** ।
मनुजैरालोक्यं तत् किमटित्वा सर्वदा हरिद्वारम् ॥ ४७ ॥

मायापुरीं व्रजेद्यो विष्णोर्माया नतं न तं भ्रमयेत् ।
मायाति च तं सोऽयं तीर्थक्षेत्रान्तराणि मा यातु ॥ ४८ ॥

इति हरिद्वारवर्णनम् ॥

अथ चर्मण्वतीवर्णनम् ॥

यन्निकटगधवलपुराभ्यर्ण्ये मुचकुन्दनिवसतिर्भाति ।
चर्मण्वती सरित्सा **यमुना**सम्भेदशालिनी जयति ॥ ४९ ॥

येयं पश्चिमदेशभूपरिसरात्प्राप्तास्ति पूर्वां दिशं
गम्भीरोदरदीर्घदीर्णदरदक्ष्माकन्दरायुक्तटा ।

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कल्लोलावलिसङ्कुला मरकताभाम्भा जगत्पालिनी
यादः शैवलशालिनी विजयते **चर्मण्वती** सा सरित् ॥ ५० ॥

अथ ग्वालेरीवर्णनम् ॥

यात्यर्थी **ग्वोलेर्यां** सुवर्णरेखासरिद्युता यां यः ।
गन्तुं स्थातुमशक्तो नलिकायन्त्रस्थशुक इवासौ स्यात् ॥ ५१ ॥

भिक्षा माऽस्तु श्वानं निवारयाश्विति नयेन यत्र गतः ।
द्रव्यार्थी नेच्छति धनमपि तु विसर्जनमभी[पू]स्यति प्रभुतः ॥ ५२ ॥

यत्र स्थितस्य मदयुतकटकरियुक्तस्य बहलकटकस्य ।
भात्युच्चकटकशैलः कटक इवाभाति **गालवपुरी** सा ॥ ५३ ॥

यः सप्तजन्मसु भवेत्किल पानकी स
यस्यां धनेच्छुरयते बहिरेति यस्याः ।
स्वर्भानुमुक्तविधुवत्स विभाति कारा-
निर्मुक्तमर्त्य इव **पूर्निपधे**ऽस्ति सा तु ॥ ५४ ॥

इति ग्वालेरीवर्णनम् ॥

अथ महेश्वरवर्णनम् ॥

रम्यं महेश्वरपुराद्रेवातीरगतं महत् ।
माहिष्मतीति विख्यातं **महेश्वरपुरं** स्तुमः ॥ ५५ ॥

यस्मिन्नासीत्**कार्तवीर्यार्जुनो**ऽसौ यस्याभ्याशे लीलया स्वैः सहस्रैः ।
दोर्भी **रेवां** रोधयित्वा सहस्रधारामेनामातनोदेतदीडे ॥ ५६ ॥

यत्रास्ति **राजराजेश्वर**श्च **कालाग्निरुद्रेशः** ।
मातङ्गेश्वरविश्वेशाद्या **रेवापुराण**तो ज्ञेयाः ॥ ५७ ॥

[अथ] राजराजेश्वरवर्णनम् ॥ कालाग्निरुद्रेश्वरवर्णनम् ॥

यो नमति **राजराजेश्वरं** स भवतीह राजराजसमः ।
कालाग्निरुद्रसेव्यपि मनुजः कालाग्निरुद्रतुल्यः स्यात् ॥ ५८ ॥

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अथ रेवावर्णनम् ॥

गङ्गाप्तापि शिवशिरो गत्वाद्यद्यपि सरिद्वरिष्ठत्वम् ।
शिवमातुस्तव समतामपि **रेवे** सा तथापि याति किमु ॥ ५९ ॥

यदीयाः केऽपि पाषाणाः शङ्करा वा गजाननाः ।
तस्यास्तवार्धसमतां **गण्डकी** यातु नेतरा ॥ ६० ॥

[अथ] कोपरगाववर्णनम् ॥

कोपरगावः सुविमल उत्तरतारे चकास्ति **गोदायाः** ।
तद्द्वीपे **शुक्रेशो** दक्षिणतारे विभाति च **कचेशः** ॥ ६१ ॥

[अथ] जेजोरीवर्णम् ॥

अनेकसोपानपरम्परावृतं **मल्लारिसंज्ञेन** शिवेन भूषितम् ।
विशालकासारयुतं मनोरमं **जेजोरीसंज्ञं** नगरं विराजते ॥ ६२ ॥

[अथ] मल्लारीवर्णनम् ॥

वाजिस्थो रमणीयतां परिदधन्नैशेन चूर्णेन यो
यद् खड्गो द्युमणिप्रभो मणिमयालङ्कारभास्वत्तनुः ।
श्वाढ्यो दैत्यशिरोमणिं मणिमहन्योऽसौ सुरग्रामणीः
तं वन्देऽस्मि महालसाख्यरमणिं शुभ्रांशुचूडामणिम् ॥ ६३ ॥

मार्तण्डोऽपि निशाजुष्ट श्वस्थोऽप्यश्वस्थ एव च ।
यो भैरवोऽपि सौम्योऽसौ पातु बाणापतिर्जनान् ॥ ६४ ॥

[अथ] मोरगांववर्णनम् ॥

स्वम्भःशालि करासरित्तटगतं सौधावलिसंयुतं
यद्यद् भैरवतीर्थदेवमुनिभिः सिद्धैश्च साध्यैर्वृतम् ।
यत्रास्ते किल सिन्धुदैत्यदमनो देवो **मयूरेश्वरः**
तत् क्षेत्रे प्रवरं पुनातु मनुजान् **श्रीमोरगावाभिधम्** ॥ ६५ ॥

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[अथ] करावर्णनम् ॥

ब्रह्मकरकमण्डलुजा स्वस्नायिमनुष्यहितकरा नितराम् ।
नाशितपातकनिकरा बहुझषमकरा **करा**सरित्पातु ॥ ६६ ॥

[अथ] मयूरेश्वरवर्णनम् ॥

भूत्वोमाजठरे मुनीन्द्रशु(शि)शुभिः साकं प्रयातो वनं
क्रीडन्यो गरुदन्तरे विनतया गुप्तं महाण्डं बलात् ।
भित्वा पादनखेन तद्भवमयूरे संस्थितः **सन्मयू-**
रेशोऽभूद्विनिहत्य सिन्धुममरान्योऽमोचयत्सोऽवतात् ॥ ६७ ॥

स्तन्यं मे देहि मातर्गणप पशुपतिं पूजयित्वा ददामि ।
मत्तः कोऽन्योधिकस्ते वचनमिति समाकर्ण्य दृष्ट्वा हसन्तीम् ।
क्रुद्धो लिङ्गं करेणाभनगथ जननीं यष्टिहस्तां निहन्तुं
वीक्ष्यायान्तीं पलन्यो वनकरमसुरं विप्ररूपं जघान ॥ ६८ ॥

विनायको योगिहृदम्बुजस्थितो विनायकाक्षस्य सुतो महेश्वरः ।
विनायकाद्यर्चितपादपङ्कजो विनायकोऽसावतात् चराचरम् ॥ ६९ ॥

सुमनैर्गणपं प्रपूज्य भक्त्या सुमनान्नं सुमनाः समर्पयेद्यः ।
स इह प्रभुतां लभेत नाके सुमनोभिः सुमनोभिरर्च्यतेऽसौ ॥ ७० ॥

निजतातं पश्चास्यं वीक्ष्य गजास्यो भयार्दितः सन् यः ।
मातृकुचांशुकलीनस्तन्वन्निव तां चतुष्कुचां सोऽव्यात् ॥ ७१ ॥

इति मयूरेशवर्णनम् ॥

अथ करहाटक्षेत्रवर्णनम् ।

यः **क्षेत्रं करहाट**कमपहायैत्यन्यतीर्थवृन्दानि ।
करहाटकं विहाय स्वर्णार्थं भ्रमति सर्वभूमौ सः ॥ ७२ ॥

[अथ] ककुद्मतीनदीवर्णनम् ।

सुसङ्गताऽस्ति **कृष्णया**भिमुख्यतश्च या मला-
पहा महोर्मिशालिनी विशालसैकता च ताम् ।

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सरित्ककुत्ककुद्मतीमतीव योऽनुसेवते
स आप्नुयादिह प्रभुत्वमन्त ऐन्द्रमास्पदम् ॥ ७३ ॥

चेतोविनोदशेषस्तदग्रिमाद्वे जये सुभानौ च ।
आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां करवीरे बुधदिने समाप्तोऽयम् ॥ ७४ ॥

चेतोविनोदशेषेण शेषशायी शिवोऽपि च ।
अशेषदेवो विघ्नेशो महालक्ष्मीश्च तृप्यतु ॥ ७५ ॥

इति श्रीशालिवाहन शके १७४५ सुभानौ आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां
बुधवासरे अनुराधानक्षत्रे समाप्तिमगमत् ॥

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अथ गङ्गाया आर्तिक्यं लिख्यते ॥

गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे कृतपातकभङ्गे ।
नाशय संसृतिसङ्गं पृथुचञ्चलभङ्गे ॥

श्रीमद्विष्णोर्वामाङ्घ्र्यङ्गुष्ठनखाग्रप्रध्वस्तब्रह्माण्डोर्ध्वाण्डकटाहबिलात् ।
पतिते मेरौ विधिभवने ध्रुवसप्तर्षिग्रहतारागणविधुमण्डलमार्गाद्विमलात् ॥ १ ॥

धृ० गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे ॥

चक्षुः सीताभद्रालकनन्देत्याख्यैः
सुस्रोतोभिर्याते चतुरोऽपि नदीनान् ।
पाश्चात्यप्राच्योदीचीनावाचीनान्
जम्बुद्वीपावधिभूतान् त्रातु दीनान् ॥ २ ॥

धृ० गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे० ॥

शर्वोद्भटविकटजटाजूटतटाटन्ति
प्रालेयाद्रिप्रस्थात् भूमौ निपतन्ति ।
मायापुर्यविमुक्तिप्रान्ते प्रचलन्ति
प्राप्ते दशशतवदनैर्मातर्वारिपतिम् ॥ ३ ॥

धृ० गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे० ॥

शरदिन्दुधवलदेहाम्बरभूषानिकरे
शशिशकलाङ्कितभाले वाहितसितमकरे ।
कुम्भाम्भोजाभयवरभूषितचारुकरे
स्वस्मृतिमात्रात्तारितनिजभक्तप्रकरे ॥ ४ ॥

धृ० गङ्गे सरिदुत्तुङ्गे० ॥

रविकुलजातभगीरथनृपभक्त्यायाते
तत्पूर्वजसगराणां मुक्त्यर्थं प्राप्ते ।
पाताले भोगवत्याख्या विख्याते
दाजी ज्योतिर्विदि कृतकरुणादृक्पाते ॥ ५ ॥

धृ० गङ्गे सुरिदुत्तुङ्गे० ॥

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[अथ महालक्ष्मीदण्डकः ॥]

जय दुग्धाम्बुधितनये जय करवीरपुरवररचितनिलये ।
जय जगदीश्वरि सदये जय लक्ष्मि कृतस्वसेवकाभ्युदये ॥ १ ॥

निर्गुणत्वे तु या सच्चिदानन्दरूपा, जगद्व्यापिनी देहहीना, गुणाढ्यत्वतो विश्वकर्त्री विधात्री, प्रकृत्याकृतिः स्वाकृतिस्तत्र या राहुभां कुन्तलैः, शीतभानुं मुखेनोष्णभानुं तनूभानुभिः, कामचापं भ्रुवैवं मनोरञ्जनं खञ्जनं, खञ्जनाक्षिद्वयेन प्रतीचीशपाशं सतीभ्यां श्रुतिभ्यां, शुकं नासया किंशुकं लोहितोष्ठेन, सद्वीरराजिं रदैश्चन्द्रिकां हास्यतः कम्बुशोभां गलेनालपत्कोकिलं या कलालापतश्चक्रवाकौ सुवृत्तोन्नताश्लिष्टस्तनाभ्यां लसद्रत्नभृत्पञ्चशीर्षान् भुजङ्गान्नखज्योतिराक्षिप्तसत्कौमुदीभिर्भुजैः श्यामलं शैवलं नीलरोमावलीभिर्महागाङ्गनीरभ्रमं वृत्तगम्भीरनाभ्या च कण्ठीरवं श्रोणिभागेन या यामुनं सैकतं जाघनोद्देशतः स्वर्णभूभृन्नितम्बं नितम्बेन कर्पूररम्भा पृथुस्तम्भसंरभमुत्सङ्गतो रत्नमादर्शमष्टीवता भावता मारतूणीरभां जङ्घया कोमलं पल्लवम् ॥ सद्रसं सारसं चापि शक्रादिवृन्दारकैर्वन्दिताभ्यां च वज्राङ्कुशेषूर्ध्वरेखाध्वजेष्वासपद्मादिचिह्नान्विताभ्यां तथालक्तकारक्तराजत्तलाभ्यामतिस्निग्धवृत्तोन्नतारक्तभास्वन्नखाभ्यां मृदुभ्यां पादाभ्यां मरालं तथैरावतं स्वैर्गतैर्नीलमेघस्थसौदामिनीमिन्द्रनीलाभरुग्विष्णुहृत्स्थातिगौराङ्गयष्ट्या तिरस्कुर्वती मस्तकेनोल्लसद्रत्नकूटं वरिष्ठं किरीटं वसंतं च चूडामणिं नासया पद्मरागान्वितं मौक्तिकं नायकं कर्णयुग्मेन सद्दर्पणद्योतिगण्डस्फुरन्मण्डले कुण्डले ग्रीवया तेज आलम्बनं लम्बनं तुङ्गवक्षोजयुग्मेन नक्षत्रमालामिवोद्भवासि नक्षत्रमलां महानीलमाणिक्यहीराश्मगर्भोल्लसत्पुष्परागोच्चमुक्ताप्रवालादिहारं बहुत्रिड्त्रिहारं चतुर्भिर्भुजैर्भानुभाभङ्गदानि ज्वलन्त्यङ्गदानि प्रकोष्ठेषु तु स्वान्तहृन्निक्वणां कङ्कणालिं सुदीर्घाङ्गुलीभिः स्फुरद्भोर्मिका ऊर्मिकाः ॥ भास्वरश्रोणिभागेऽमलां निस्तुलां किङ्किणीसङ्कुलामुल्लसद्धेमसच्छृङ्खलां मेखलामङ्घ्रियुग्मे लसद्रत्नकोटिप्रभावत्तुलाकोटियुग्मं तनौ मञ्जरीवत्तनौ सूक्ष्मताक्षिप्तसान्ध्याम्बरं चारुशोणाम्बरं शीर्ष ऊर्ध्वक्रामद्योनिलिङ्गोरगान्दक्षिणेऽधःस्थिते पञ्चशाखे माहामातुलिङ्गं तथोर्ध्वे गदां वाम ऊर्ध्वे तु खेटं त्वधःसंस्थिते पानपात्रं शुभं पादपृष्ठे द्वयोः पार्श्वयोर्दर्शनीयं यमाशोल्लसत्पूर्वकायं तथोदकस्थपाश्चात्यभागं प्रतीचीमुखं वज्रभास्वन्नखं केसरीन्द्रं मुदा बिभ्रती चन्दनं कुङ्कुमं चापि कस्तूरिकां भालदेशे दधाना लसत्काञ्चनीचर्चिताङ्गा महामालतीमल्लिकाकुन्दजातीजपापुष्पमाल्योच्चयैश्चारुमन्दारपुन्नागजैः कार्णिकारोद्भवैः काञ्चनारद्रुजैश्चाम्पकैर्बाकुलैः कैतकैः सैन्धुवारैश्च सत्पुष्पवारैः सदिन्दीवरैः पुष्करैरर्चिता चोत्तरस्यां महाकालिका दक्षिणस्यां सरस्वत्यथो पश्चिमायां द्विपास्यस्तथा सर्वतो दत्तविश्वेशरामा नृसिंहोऽहिशायी हनूमाननेके शिवाः सन्ति यस्यास्तु शुद्धाब्धिपद्मालयाद्यैः सरोभिर्युतेऽथो जयन्तीसरिद्रोमतीनिम्नगाभ्यां वृते पञ्चगङ्गाप्रतीरस्थिते रङ्कनाथाभिधक्षेत्रपालादिदेवान्विते क्षेत्रवन्दे तु कोल्हापुरे सन्ततं संस्थिता मधुं कैटभं कासरं रक्तबीजं निशुम्भं च शुम्भं

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च कोलोभिदं(धं) दानवेन्द्रं तथान्यान् बहून् राक्षसेन्द्रान्निहत्याशु भक्तानरक्षद्भवान्यादि देवीस्वरूपा सुरुपा विरूपाक्षविष्टवा(ष्णवा)त्मभूभिर्मुनिश्रेष्ठगन्धर्वविद्याधरैः सिद्धसाध्याप्सरः सङ्घयैर्यक्षरक्षःपिशाचोरगैश्च स्तुता वेदशास्त्रेतिहासैः पुराणैश्च गीतेश्वरी या तुरीया सदा ज्ञानदा मानदा तुष्टिदा पुष्टिदा भुक्तिदा मुक्तिदा तामरालालकान्तां सुकान्तां बलात्कृप्तसन्नाशकान्तां हृषीकेशकान्तां स्फुरत्पङ्कभूमन्दिरामिन्दिरां त्वां निजे शुद्धहृत्पङ्कजेऽहं भजे ॥ १ ॥

नासां विनिर्जितशुका धराधरितकिंशुका शुकादिनुता ।
माऽर्पयतु कनकभांगांशुका विलसदंशुकाशु कामान्मे ॥ २ ॥
दाजिविधिज्ञविरचितो यथेष्टरगणान्विताङ्घ्रिको ललितः ।
प्रविलसति **मत्तमातङ्गसाह्व** इह **दण्डको महालक्ष्म्याः** ॥ ३ ॥

इति महालक्ष्मीदण्डकः समाप्तिम् अजङ्गमीत्तिराम् ॥ ३ ॥

अथ महालक्ष्म्याः आरार्त्तिक्यम् ॥

जय देवि जय देवि जय मातः कमले
द्रुतजाम्बुनदविमले सुरनुतवदकमले जय देवि जय देवि ॥ १ ॥
अलिकुलकोमलवाले द्रुतमौक्तिकमाले
स्तनयुगनिर्जिततालें क्षीराम्बुधिबाले ।
काश्मिराङ्कितभाले नाशितभवजाले
हेलामर्दितकोले शरणाङ्गतपाले ॥ १ ॥ जय०
कमलदलायतनयने शनिनिभशुभवदने
सिंहविराजितगमने हीरावलिरदने
मुनिजनविरचितनमने कृतराक्षसकदने
कोकिलमञ्जुगदने विष्णुरदने ॥ २ ॥ जय० ॥ जय०
नागाद्याङ्कितमस्तकभुवनावनसक्ते
प्राशनभाजनखेटादिकयुतकरयुक्ते ।
कृतकरवीरनिवासे रिपुमर्दनशक्ते
शुकनासासमनासे तारितनिजभक्ते ॥ ३ ॥ जय०

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अधरविनिर्जितबिम्बे विश्वस्तुतरूपे
पृथुतरचारुनितम्बे कृतदानवकोपे ।
भू (भ्रू)जितमन्मथचापे हृतनिजजनतापे
दाजिज्योतिर्वित्त्वां प्रणमति हृतपापे ॥ ४ ॥ जय देवि जय दे० ॥

[इति महालक्ष्म्या आरार्त्तिक्यम् ॥]

[अथ नृसिंहारतिः ॥]

देवं ब्रह्मशिवाद्यैर्वेद्यं वन्देऽहं
केसरिमुखनर्दे(रदे)हं वापितसन्देहम् ॥ जयदेव ज० ॥
स्वर्णकशिपुपादहतस्तम्भाविर्भूतं
वामाङ्कस्थितचन्द्राननजलनिधिभूतम् ।
मायाविलसितरचितस्थिरजङ्गमभूतं
स्वाविर्भावविभूषितमाधवसितभूतम् ॥ १ ॥
घोरध्वानध्वनितजगदण्डाभोगं
साब्धजटाजालजरितमिहिरादिनभोगम् ।
दीर्घभुजाधरितधराधरपन्नगभोगं
भक्तश्रेणिविश्राणितवाञ्छितभोगम् ॥ २ ॥
खरतरनखरप्रखरविदारितरिपुहृदयं
वह्निविषाम्बुव्रातप्रह्लादं सदयम् ।
रोषविलोहितलोचनधि[क्]कृतरव्युदयं
कनक[क]शिपुनिर्मथनाद्वर्धितदिविषदयम् ॥ ३ ॥
क्षीराकूपारान्तरद्वीपे कृतवासं
चक्रपिनाकाभयवरधरकरमतिभासम् ।
प्रतिपक्षक्षोभक्षमचण्डाट्टहासं
पालितपदनतदाजिज्योतिर्विद्दासम् ॥ ४ ॥

इति नृसिंहआर्तिः समाप्तः ॥

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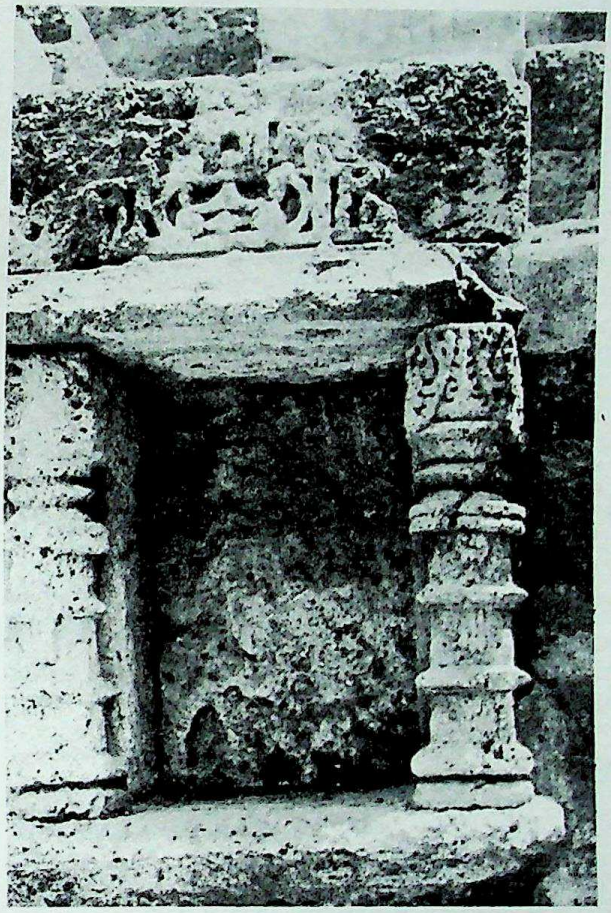

Plate : 7
Religious carvings made in laterite in the kuṇḍavāva
(Refer to Dr. P. K. Patel and Shri S. I. Vaid's Article)

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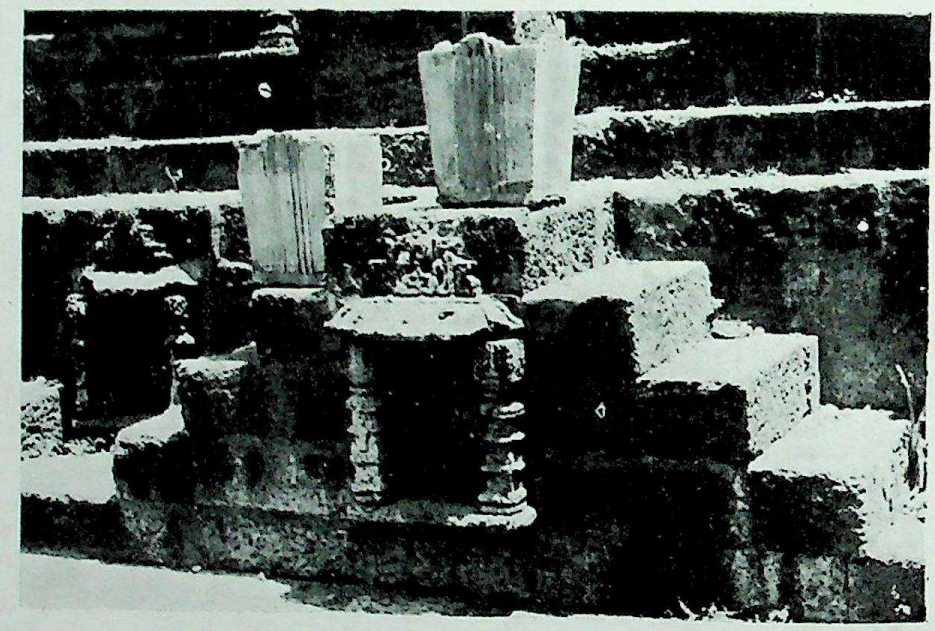

Plate : 6
Ashlars of laterite used in the construction of the kuṇḍ avāva
(Refer to Dr. P. K. Patel and Shri S. J. Vaid's Article)

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